Ibn Qudāma's Censure of Speculative Theology

Edited and Translated by
George Makdisi

IBN QUDĀMA'S

CENSURE OF SPECULATIVE THEOLOGY

An edition and translation of Ibn Qudāma's *Taḥrīm an-nazar fī kutub ahl al-kalām,* with introduction and notes; a contribution to the study of Islamic religious history

by

GEORGE MAKDISI

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ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB

and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا ۞ فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ

"These are our works, these works our souls display;
Behold our works when we have passed away."

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To my teachers
LOUIS MASSIGNON and HENRI LAOUST
as a token of
respectful and affectionate
gratitude.

INTRODUCTION

This treatise in censure of speculative theology, *kalām*,[1] and its partisans, the *mutakallimūn*, known as one of the works of the celebrated doctor of the Ḥanbalite theologico-juridical school, Muwaffaq ad-Dīn b. Qudāma,[2] has not heretofore been known to be extant. An edition and translation, based on a unique manuscript preserved in the Āṣafīyā Library, Ḥaidarābād,[3] are offered in the following pages. The author has recently been the subject of a brief, but excellent, biographical study.[4] Therefore, except for some significant dates in the author's life, and a few remarks on some of his works, this introduction will be devoted entirely to his present work.

Some Details of Ibn Qudāma's Life

Muwaffaq ad-Dīn ibn Qudāma was born in 541/1146, in the town of Ǧammā'īl, near Jerusalem. When he was ten years of age, his family, the Banū Qudāma, left Ǧammā'īl to take up their residence in Damascus. It was in al-Madrasa aṣ-Ṣāliḥīya, founded in 556/1161 by his father, Aḥmad b. Qudāma, that Muwaffaq ad-Dīn received the first phase of his education in studying the Koran and Tradition. To complete his education, he went to Baghdad.

His first trip to this great centre of Ḥanbalism was in 560. He studied there under the direction of the famed Ḥanbalite mystic, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlī; but this discipleship was cut short by the latter's death at the beginning of the following year. This experience, brief though it may have been, was not

[1] " Speculative theology " is manifestly that which the author takes *kalām* to be, and is what he censures in this treatise. He does not censure theology as the knowledge of God, but rather that particular type of theology which he describes as theorizing without sufficient evidence. On the various meanings of the technical term *kalām*, see the article of D. B. Macdonald in *EI*, *s.v.*

[2] See Ibn Raǧab, Ḏail (ed. Fiqī), II, 139; see also Henri Laoust, *Précis*, xxx and note 2, no. 9; based on Ibn Raǧab's list in *Ḏail 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, MS. in the Zāhiriya Library, Damascus, *Tārīḫ* 61, fols. 230 a–b.

[3] Cf. *GAL.*, *Suppl.*, I, 689, no. 23.

[4] See Henri Laoust, *Précis*, Introduction, vii–lviii.

without its influence on the young Ibn Qudāma, who maintained a favourable attitude toward mysticism.[5] His other teachers in Baghdad were the Ḥanbalite doctors Ibn al-Ǧauzī (d. 597/1200) and Ibn al-Munā (d. 583/1187).

Ibn Qudāma's first trip to Baghdad lasted until 564. He is known to have visited it again on two different occasions between 567 and 574. The following year, in 575, he settled in Damascus to teach. Once more he is known to have left Damascus to take part in Saladin's expeditions against the Franks, particularly in the conquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187.

Muwaffaq ad-Dīn died in Damascus, at the age of 80, in 620/1223. He was survived by several daughters, all three of his sons having died during his lifetime.

Among the biographers of Ibn Qudāma, the jurisconsult and historian Abū Šāma (d. 665/1267), a student of his, is the only one who voices a regret that Muwaffaq ad-Dīn thought it necessary to uphold the teaching of his school concerning the divine attributes. An understandable attitude, for his teacher was Faḫr ad-Dīn b. ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), and like his teacher, he had an Aš'arite bias.[6] In the present treatise, as in other works of his, Ibn Qudāma's principal object is to uphold this teaching of his school, carrying on its tradition.

Ibn Qudāma's Works

A list of Ibn Qudāma's extant works may be found in C. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (I, 398, *Supplement*, I, 688–689). Another list, that of Ibn Raǧab's *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, has been published by Professor Laoust,[7] who points out some titles which are mentioned by Brockelmann but not found in Ibn Raǧab's list. These are: *ar-Radd ʿalā Ibn ʿAqīl*, *al-Munāẓara baina'l-ḥanābila wa'š-šāfiʿīya* and *Risāla fī't-taṣauwuf*.

Of these three titles, the first and last may now be identified with sufficient certainty. *Ar-Radd ʿalā Ibn ʿAqīl* is the title of the

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, xvi. His teacher, al-Ǧīlī, declared himself more than once in favour of the thesis of Ḥallāǧ's sainthood; see Louis Massignon, *Passion*, 411. On Ibn Qudāma's attitude toward this great mystic, cf. my article, *L'affaire d'Ibn ʿAqīl*, 126.

[6] Laoust, *Prétis*, xxix–xxx.

[7] MS. of the Ẓāhiriya Library of Damascus, *Tārīḫ* 61, fols. 230 a–b; cited in Laoust, *Prétis*, xxx, n. 2 See also Ibn Raǧab, *Ḏail* (ed. Fiqī), II, 139–140.

present work as listed in Brockelmann's *GAL*, and its identification is dealt with below. The *Risālā fī't-taṣauwuf* is partly a fragment of another work by the same author listed in *GAL* (*Supplement*, I, 689, No. 17) under the title of *Waṣīya*; the other part being a fragment of what appears to be a Wahhābite work, wherein the question of intercession (*šafā'a*) is treated.

Ibn Qudāma's Present Work

Date of the original work.—The date of Ibn Qudāma's original manuscript may be placed within the space of less than two decades. Ibn Qudāma wrote his treatise some time after he had heard, in Damascus, the relation of Ibn 'Aqīl's retractation of 465/1072 from the traditionist Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabarzad al-Baġdādī. This hearing took place in the month of Ḏū'l-Ḥiğğa, in the year 603/1206, according to the author's own statement.[8] Thus he wrote his treatise some time between this date and the year 620/1223, year of his death; and quite likely, if one may judge by the urgency of the matter discussed, in the earlier part of this period, soon after the report of Abū Ḥafṣ b. Ṭabarzad al-Baġdādī.

Place of composition.—Damascus appears to have been the place at which Ibn Qudāma wrote this work. At this period of his life, having passed the stage of his extensive travelling, he is not known to have left Damascus for any appreciable length of time. A more definite indication of his having written it in Damascus may be found in a kind of sub-title appearing on the title page in the following words: *wa-hiya risālatuhu ilā ahli 'l-'ain.* (It is his [i.e. Ibn Qudāma's] treatise addressed to the people of the town.) In this late part of his life, a celebrated doctor of the Ḥanbalite school, a recognized scholar and leader, he quite apparently felt it his duty to address the people of his town, Damascus, warning them against a danger in matters of religious belief, a danger of which he had just become fully aware.

Authorship and title.—The manuscript bears on the title page its title and the full name of its author, Ibn Qudāma. The title is given as *Kitāb fihi 'r-radd 'alā Ibn 'Aqīl* (A book *which Contains*

[8] See text, paragraph 7.

the Refutation of Ibn 'Aqīl). As it now stands, it is not the sort of title an author would give to his work. He would entitle it simply *Kitāb fī 'r-radd . . .*, or *Kitāb ar-Radd . . .*, or *ar-Radd . . .*; in any case, without the use of *fīhi*. Indeed, in Brockelmann's list[9] the title appears without this word; but on the title page of the manuscript itself it is very plainly written. It appears to have been composed by someone who had read the treatise and, because of the loss of the original title, gave it a title descriptive of its most prominent part. At any rate, this title gives the reader to understand that the book contains other things besides the refutation of Ibn 'Aqīl. With the aid of the internal and external evidence which I have been able to find, I believe that it may be identified with reasonable certainty as that theological work by Ibn Qudāma found in Ibn Rağab's list under the title of: *Mas'ala fī taḥrīm an-naẓar fī kutub ahl al-kalām* (A Thesis on Prohibiting the Study of Works by the Partisans of Speculative Theology).

To begin with, there is no difficulty in accepting the treatise as one of Ibn Qudāma's works on theology. A comparison with his other well-known theological works, especially *Lum'at al-i'tiqād* and *Ḏamm at-ta'wīl*[10] will readily show from the standpoint of both form and content, that one and the same author wrote all three. But there is further evidence at hand, evidence of an extrinsic nature, which links the name of the author to the title of his work and supplies a brief but sufficiently descriptive note regarding the contents. This evidence is found in Ibn Mufliḥ's *al-Ādāb aš-šar'īya*. Slightly different from the one found in Ibn Rağab's list, the title cited by Ibn Mufliḥ is as follows:[11] *al-Man' min an-naẓar fī kutub al-mubtadi'a* (The Prevention of the Study of Works by the Heretics). A comparison of the two titles shows that the first and last words of one of them differ from the corresponding words of the other. But these two sets of words are synonymous; the one set, *taḥrīm* and *man'*, (" prohibition," " prevention ") are clearly so; and

[9] *GAL., Suppl.*, I, 689, no. 23 : *ar-Radd 'alā b. 'Aqīl.*

[10] Both treatises in the collection entitled *'Aṯr rasā'il wa-'aqā'id*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Abd as-Salam (Cairo, 1351/1932). New edition of *Lum'at al-i'tiqād* (Cairo, 1372/1953), cited by Father G. C. Anawati, *Textes arabes*, 127–8. On the theodicy of Ibn Qudāma, based on a study of this work, see Laoust, *Précis*, xxxiii–xxxvi.

[11] Ibn Mufliḥ, *al-Ādāb aš-šar'īya* I, 263.

the other set, *ahl al-kalām* and *mubtadi'a* (" the partisans of speculative theology " and " the heretics "), are definitely so as far as the author, Ibn Qudāma, is concerned. This is quite plain throughout the text of his treatise, and especially in one instance where he refers to " the sect of speculative theologians and heretics " (*ṭā'ifatu 'l-mutakallimīna wa'l-mubtadi'a*).[12]

Ibn Mufliḥ has this title followed by a text which appears, at first glance, to be a direct quote, but, on closer scrutiny and comparison with the original, proves to be a paraphrase summing up the thesis of Ibn Qudāma's work;—a paraphrase, the terms and phrases of which are chosen here and there from the body of Ibn Qudāma's text. Ibn Mufliḥ writes:[13] wa-ḏakara 'š-Šaiḫ Muwaffaq ad-Dīn—raḥimahu 'llāh—fī *'l-Man' min an-naẓar fī kutub al-mubtadi'a* qāl: kāna 's-salafu yanhūna 'an muǧālasati ahli 'l-bida'i wa'n-naẓari fī kutubihim wa 'li' stimā'i li-kalāmihim —ilā an qāl: wa-iḏā kāna aṣḥābu 'n-Nabīyi—ṣalla 'llāhu 'alaihī wa-sallam—wa-man ittaba'a sunnatahum fī ǧami'i 'l-amṣāri wa'l-a'ṣāri muttafiqīna 'alā wuǧūbi 'ttibā'i 'l-Kitābi wa's-Sunnati wa-tarki 'ilmi 'l-kalāmi wa-tabdī'i ahlihī wa-hiǧrānihim wa'l-ḫabari bi-zandaqatihim wa-bid'atihim fa-yaǧibu 'l-qaulu bi-buṭlānihi wa-an lā yaltifita ilaihī multafitun wa-lā yaġtarra bihi aḥadun. (The Šaiḫ Muwaffaq ad-Dīn mentioned in *The Prevention of the Study of Works Written by the Heretics*, saying [in substance]: " The Ancestors used to prohibit association with the partisans of heretical innovation, as well as the study of their works and listening to their discourse." (He went on) until he said [in substance, reaching the point of his thesis]: " Since the Prophet's Companions and those who pursued their path, in all the camp-cities and in all periods, are in agreement as to the obligation of following the precepts of the Book and the Sunna, forsaking the science of *kalām*, declaring its partisans to be heretical innovators, deserting them, broadcasting their *zandaqa* and their heretical innovation, then it is a matter of obligation that the falsity of this science be professed, and that no one should pay it the slightest attention nor allow himself to be deceived by it.")

[12] See text, paragraph 70.
[13] *al-Ādāb aš-šar'iya, loc. cit.*

Referring to this passage again, on the next page of his work, Ibn Mufliḥ makes the following comment:[14] wa-kalāmu 'š-Šaiḫ Muwaffāq ad-Dīn as-sābiqu yaqtaḍī annahū lā farqa baina 'd-dā'iyati ilā 'l-bid'ati wa-ġairihi wa-ẓāhiruhu annahu iğmā'u 's-salafi. (The above statement of the Šaiḫ Muwaffaq ad-Dīn implies that there is no difference between him who incites to heretical innovation and any other. [=I.e. that speculative theology is evil in itself, regardless of whether its partisan advocated orthodoxy or heresy.] The evident meaning of his statement is that such was the teaching of the Ancestors.)

The foregoing evidence, considered together with the contents of the treatise, to be discussed presently, constitutes sufficient grounds for concluding that the present treatise was written by Ibn Qudāma, and that it is the treatise which he wrote in censure of speculative theology and its partisans, urging his readers to abstain from studying their works. Of the two titles cited, I have chosen the one given by Ibn Raǧab, simply because it is more clearly descriptive than that given by Ibn Mufliḥ. Either title could have been used by Ibn Qudāma, since he makes no distinction, as has already been remarked, between the " partisans of speculative theology " and the " heretics."

Contents.—The author's purpose is contained in the first part of his treatise: to warn the unsuspecting faithful of the danger of being deceived by doctrines such as those which Ibn 'Aqīl had at one time expounded. The occasion for his writing of the treatise was his discovery of such doctrines professed by Ibn 'Aqīl. Ibn 'Aqīl's writings, points out Ibn Qudāma, belong to two different periods of his life—or rather, to two different states: one of heresy and the other of orthodoxy, the dividing line being the event of his retractation which took place in 465/1072. But, as Ibn Qudāma suspects that Ibn 'Aqīl may not have lived up to the terms of his retractation and that he may well have continued to expound heretical doctrines, he decides to attribute to the *period of heresy* any heretical writings of Ibn 'Aqīl which may be found. While this may appear to absolve Ibn 'Aqīl from any heresies after the year 465/1072, it emphasizes the fact that Ibn 'Aqīl's heresies are not altogether known, even at this late date,

[14] *Ibid.*, I, 264.

and makes it possible to review all of his doctrines in the light of orthodoxy as expounded by Ibn Qudāma. But what if some heretical works of Ibn 'Aqīl are found definitely to belong to a period following the retractation? The answer then is obvious: Ibn 'Aqīl will thus prove himself to be a religious hypocrite, and his works should all the more be shunned.

But, in the meantime, Ibn Qudāma had to explain why he was attacking a fellow muslim, a member of his own school, for doctrines which this member had solemnly retracted. The reason for including Ibn 'Aqīl in his censure of speculative theologians was that " some people have been deceived by his doctrines, and a group of our companions have followed him in his heretical innovation."[15] What made Ibn 'Aqīl so dangerously effective with these people was " their good opinion of him, and their conviction that he belonged in the ranks of those who summon to the obedience of the Sunna ".[16] Ibn Qudāma's task was therefore clearly set out for him: he must expose Ibn 'Aqīl's scandalous heresies by showing them to be in opposition to the teachings of orthodoxy. He must put him exactly where he belongs. For, far from being a missionary in the cause of orthodoxy, " Ibn 'Aqīl is a partisan of speculative theology and, as such, defends their system of thought. It is for this reason that we speak against him and mention his faults, on account of his having become one of their members and urged others to follow their path."[17]

Ibn 'Aqīl was the carrier of heretical innovations into the midst of the faithful, and these innovations were creating religious havoc among them because they carried the stamp of his endorsement. His good name had therefore to be discredited in order to render his endorsement ineffective. But Ibn Qudāma had also to reach out beyond into the source of pollution where Ibn 'Aqīl had sought to quench his inquisitive thirst. This source was not difficult to find; Ibn 'Aqīl himself having pointed it out, among other things, in his retractation; namely, the Mu'tazilite system of thought.

The distinguishing mark of the Mu'tazilites was their

[15] See text, paragraph 13.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] See text, paragraph 27.

allegorical interpretation of the revealed text with regard to the divine attributes. It is with them that the science of *kalām*, or speculative theology, originated. After them, it passed on to the Aš'arite school. And now, Ibn 'Aqīl reveals himself as an agent of transmission for this science. These are the people whom Ibn Qudāma condemns: all those who indulge in speculative theology; and Ibn 'Aqīl is closely linked with them in the statement addressed by Ibn Qudāma to the partisans of speculative theology: " that which has been established by the Book and the Sunna cannot be put aside by the sheer raving of your spokesman [i.e. Ibn 'Aqīl]."[18]

Thus the scope of the treatise transcends the narrow confines of a refutation of one Ḥanbalite by another; for the brunt of Ibn Qudāma's attack is directed against all manner of speculation in matters of religious belief. Such speculation, reiterates Ibn Qudāma, is unorthodox; it is a heretical innovation. All those who indulge in it are to be declared heretical, no matter what their particular school may be; and this has to be done in order to protect the faithful from the pernicious doctrines that were being disseminated under the guise of orthodoxy. This means that Ibn 'Aqīl, the celebrated Ḥanbalite doctor, has to be denounced in so far as he was at one time advocating such heretical innovations. And beyond Ibn 'Aqīl are not only the Mu'tazilites (whose deviation from orthodoxy is a matter of common knowledge), but also the Aš'arites, their intellectual heirs, who parade under the guise of orthodoxy. All of these people have one thing in common: they indulge in speculation with regard to the divine attributes; they are partisans of the heretical science of speculative theology. It was bad enough to suffer the faithful being exposed to heretical doctrines; but matters became far worse when these same doctrines were endorsed by would-be orthodox people. Not only, therefore, were these doctrines to be exposed and shunned when advocated by the Mu'tazilites, but more especially when advocated by the Aš'arites and by renegades such as Ibn 'Aqīl and his cohorts. The surest way, therefore, to meet this evil is to expose it in its most representative tenets, so that it may be recognized and

[18] See text, paragraph 87.

shunned for what it is, regardless of the name that endorses it. Speculative theology itself is the evil enemy of orthodoxy, and it must be exposed and condemned along with its partisans.

But why was speculative theology, in itself, a heretical innovation? Because it was not practised by the Ancestors (*Salaf*) whose path is the path of orthodoxy, the path which leads to salvation and happiness in the world to come. Evidence in the Koran, in the Tradition and in the Consensus of the learned men of successive generations, points to the orthodoxy of the Ancestors; and it also points to the obligation of pursuing their path in order to attain to salvation and happiness. Thus he writes, by way of recapitulation, that he has clearly shown " the evilness of the science of speculative theology by virtue of its very source, the censure of it by our Imāms, the general agreement of the learned men that its advocates are partisans of heretical innovations and error, and that they are not considered to belong to the ranks of learned men; and that whoever occupies himself with it becomes a *zindīq* and will not prosper."[19] As proof for this statement, Ibn Qudāma offers the case of Ibn 'Aqīl as evidence.

The distinguishing mark of speculative theologians being their use of allegorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*) in dealing with the Koranic verses concerning the divine attributes, Ibn Qudāma devotes the greater part of his treatise to its censure. His objection to its use is not based merely on the rather negative theory that the Ancestors made no use of it, but principally on its evident censure, in no uncertain terms, in the Koran itself. The principal evil of allegorical interpretation is that it leads to the practice of stripping God of the attributes which He attributed to Himself, and attributing to Him others which He did not attribute to Himself, which, in fact, he denied of Himself. Such is the evil which goes by the name of *ta'ṭīl*, and which should be shunned. Other parts of the treatise deal with the use of private judgment (*iǧtihād*) in matters of religious belief, the following of higher authority (*taqlīd*) in these matters, the credibility of isolated traditions (*aḫbār āḥād*), the defence of the Ḥanbalite school against the accusation of anthropomorphism

[19] See text, paragraph 90.

(*tašbīh*, *tamṯīl*, *tağsīm*), and the disputed question of the divine voice (*ṣaut*) and letters (*ḥurūf*).

If the speculative theologians' distinguishing mark is their use of allegorical interpretation, their opponents, the traditionalists, have also their distinguishing mark; and Ibn Qudāma, as their representative in this case, gives expression to their attitude in a way which is worthy of mention. Against allegorical interpretation, he advocates the unreserved acceptance of the Koranic expressions and the traditions on the divine attributes as they stand, allowing them to pass on intact, as they were handed down from the Prophet, without attempting to interpret them. For only God knows their intended meaning. This meaning we need not know, not only because it is impossible for us to know what only God knows, but also for the practical reason that they do not call for any rule of conduct. Since we know from the Koran that only God knows them, the knowledge of their meaning is not necessary for our salvation. All we need do is believe in these expressions as they stand, without seeking for their intended meaning. Such faith is perfectly sound.

This is the attitude which goes by the name of *balkafa*; the acceptance of God's revelations on His attributes without question, in pure and simple submission, without attempting to fathom them. This attitude delivers from the risk of attributing to God that which He has not revealed of Himself. This is what distinguishes the pious believer, follower of the pious Ancestors (*Salaf*), from the meddlesome, error-laden partisan of allegorical interpretation, the speculative theologian.

But what about the intellect? Is one never to be allowed its use? Ibn Qudāma answers that there are many profitable ways to use one's intellect, ways which are proper to it, instead of risking it in speculations on matters of religious belief, and specifically on the divine attributes, which lie outside its scope. The profitable ways of extending the range of one's knowledge consist in exercising one's intellect in the various fields of religious law and mathematics. There is ample scope here to keep one usefully occupied, and to keep him from plunging into prohibited discussions concerning the divine attributes,

discussions which, in themselves, are the distinguishing mark of heresy.

Granted that the path of orthodoxy leading to salvation is that of the Ancestors, how is this path to be known? Ibn Qudāma's answer is that it may be known only through the traditions, of which the depositaries and legitimate transmitters are obviously the traditionalists—certainly not the speculative theologians " who are the most ignorant of men with regard to the traditions . . . and the most neglectful of their transmission . . ." And when they do transmit traditions, their transmissions should not be accepted, because the sole possessions of speculative theologians consist in " forgery, falsehood and false witness."[20]

Ibn Qudāma, a " Tertullianist."—This doctrinal position of Ibn Qudāma bears a striking resemblance to that of Tertullian (A.D. ca. 160–ca. 240), in relation to whom he may well be considered as a psychological counterpart. Both shared an intense hatred for dialectics and rational speculation in matters of religious belief; both were jurisprudents who used arguments based on principles of jurisprudence in order to exclude the heretics. Tertullian excluded them with his theory of " prescription,"[21] borrowed from Roman jurisprudence, according to which the Scriptures belonged to the Church, the sole heir to them by way of legitimate transmission through the Apostles. The heretics have no *right* to them; they may not discuss them, interpret them arbitrarily and mutilate them as they do.

Ibn Qudāma comes very close to this notion of Tertullian. He was set against what he considered to be the encroachments of the heretics (i.e. the speculative theologians) on the Scriptures (i.e. the Koran and Sunna). He fought bitterly against their arbitrary interpretations. He argued that the Companions of the Prophet, and all who followed their path, are agreed as to the obligation of following the precepts of the Koran and Sunna; that they are also agreed in their censure of speculative theology

[20] See text, paragraph 16.

[21] See *On the " Prescription " of Heretics*, translated by Rev. T. H. Bindley (London, 1914).—On the " Tertullian Family " and their relation to other " spiritual families " in the Middle Ages, see Etienne Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York–London, 1938).

and in declaring its partisans to be heretics.

Thus Ibn Qudāma made use of the doctrine of consensus (*iǧmā'*), one of the "roots" of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), restricted to the first three generations of Islam, in order to establish the line of demarcation between the path of orthodoxy leading to salvation, and the path of heretical innovation excluding its followers from the community of believers. Certainty in matters of faith is to be found in the two following sources: the Koran, and the living authority of tradition whose true depositaries are the pious Ancestors (*Salaf*). They are the heirs of the Prophet whose path they followed; and he who wishes to follow the true path must be guided by them. Those who forsake them are heretics who have no *right* to Islam; they should, says Ibn Qudāma, "claim for themselves a law and a system of worship other than that of Islam, and leave alone Muḥammad's religion!"[22] Muḥammad's religion belongs to those who follow the path indicated by the Ancestors, not to those who tamper with it and disfigure it by their arbitrary interpretations.

Thus orthodoxy is judged by the standard of the Ancestors' conduct. To prove the position of one's opponent heretical, it is sufficient to show that his doctrine is an innovation, and, therefore, not in keeping with that of the pious Ancestors. And the strength of this argument rests upon the perennial strength of traditionalism in Islam.

For the support of this doctrine, briefly sketched here, the author appeals to the testimony of the Koran, to the traditions and to such Imāms as Mālik b. Anas, Šāfi'ī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Abū Yūsuf and others.

Sources of the author and his merit.—The influence of earlier Ḥanbalite doctors can be seen in Ibn Qudāma's treatise. The main ideas which he presents are not new; they may be found in the works of the earlier masters of his school or in the excerpts thereof which have survived in later compilations. He draws heavily on the teachings of the traditionalists, one of whom, in particular, was the source of much of the material which went into the writing of his treatise. This traditionalist is the Spaniard

[22] See text, paragraph 44.

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1071), whom he mentions twice in the earlier part of the treatise and cites his work *Kitāb al-'ilm*.[23] Though Ibn Qudāma cites him when quoting him, he does not do so when quoting others cited by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. Thus the latter's work has supplied a number of variant readings for the present edition of Ibn Qudāma's treatise, and these are indicated in the critical notes.

The merit of Ibn Qudāma resides in the manner in which he brought together these teachings and marshalled his arguments. In contrast with the clear outline of his other treatise in censure of allegorical interpretation, *Ḏamm at-ta'wīl*,[24] Ibn Qudāma is not so much interested in aspects of organization as he is in the persistent reiteration of a simple formula of orthodoxy, a formula for salvation.

Notable among the Ḥanbalite predecessors of Ibn Qudāma who fought against *kalām* is the celebrated mystic, 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 481/1088).[25] Among his successors, the most important representative Ḥanbalite who opposed the allegorical interpretation of the divine attributes is Ibn Taimīya (d. 728/1328).[26]

Historical value.—Ibn Qudāma's treatise has already served as an historical source for certain details concerning the retractation of Ibn 'Aqīl.[27] In addition to this, it serves as a good initiation into a study of the current of thought which it repre-

[23] See *GAL*, I, 367–8, *Suppl.*, I, 628–9; the work which Ibn Qudāma cites as *Kitāb al-'Ilm* has been published under the title of *Ǧāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍlihi wa-mā yanbaġī fī riwāyatihi wa-ḥamlih* (Cairo, 1320/1902).

[24] Cf. note 10 above.

[25] His work is entitled *Ḏamm al-kalām*, cf. *GAL*, I, 433, *Suppl.*, I, 774. An edition and translation of this work has been announced as being prepared by Father S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, in Gardet-Anawati, *Introduction à la theologie musulmane*, 91, n. 1.

[26] On Ibn Taimīya, see the important work of Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les idées sociales et politiques de Taḳi-d-dīn ibn Taimīya* (IFAOC, 1939). The observation made in Gardet-Anawati, *op. cit.*, 228, concerning Ibn Taimīya as a psychological counterpart for Tertullian in Islam, and the difference which it points out in making such a comparison, is so eminently pertinent to the case of Ibn Qudāma as to warrant an integral quotation: "S'il fallait lui [=Tertullian] trouver un répondant psychologique en Islâm, c'est moins au kalâm qu'il faudrait s'adresser qu'aux vieux maitres des *usûl al fiqh*, les 'sources du droit,' ou mieux, à une époque plus moderne, au grand lutteur que fut le ḥanbalite Ibn Taymîyya : avec l'énorme différence que l'on peut établir entre les traditions juridiques romaines, toutes originées en définitive en la reconnaissance d'une loi naturelle non écrite, fondement de la loi humaine positive, et les traditions juridiques musulmanes, uniquement centrées sur une Loi positive, et positive divine."

[27] Cf. G. Makdisi, *L'affaire d'Ibn 'Aqīl*.

sents, considered together with the opposite current, the vindication of *kalām*.[28]

One particular question calls for attention at the present time regarding the works of Ibn ʿAqīl in the field of theology. Which of his works contained the doctrines which moved Ibn Qudāma to write the present treatise censuring them as heretical? Ibn Qudāma readily supplies a list of Ibn ʿAqīl's orthodox works, but fails to give the title of a single work containing heretical doctrines. This he seems prudently to avoid, most likely in order not to arouse the curiosity of some of his readers, leading them on to a perusal of the censured doctrines at first hand.[29] But in listing those theological works of Ibn ʿAqīl which are orthodox, Ibn Qudāma brings us closer, if only by a process of elimination, to the identification of the source containing the condemned doctrines; and there are sufficient indications in the treatise to show that those doctrines are contained in one single work. Twice he states that Ibn ʿAqīl refers to a particular work of his as " a good counsel;"[30] and towards the end of his treatise, he writes:[31] " If only he [i.e. Ibn ʿAqīl] had erased this heretical innovation from *his book*, he would have been relieved of the grievous sin, etc. . . ." In addition to its explicit reference to one particular book, this statement has something else to offer: it implies quite clearly that the book in question is objectionable only in part, and it is this part which is censured by Ibn Qudāma.

[28] Father Richard J. McCarthy has translated a treatise in vindication of *kalām* which is attributed to Aš'arī, *Risāla fī 'stiḥsān al-ḫaud fī 'ilm al-kalām* (cf. *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 345, no. 2), in his recent book, *The Theology of al-Asb'arī* (Beirut, 1953), which contains other valuable sources on this subject.

[29] Just as he also avoids quoting at length from the doctrines of Ibn ʿAqīl. There is a well-known anecdote that the founder of his school, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, criticized Muḥāsibī for having written a book refuting the heretics; his reason being that Muḥāsibī, in re-stating their heresies, was leading the people to think about them and speculate. See Gazzāli, *Iḥyā'*, I, 101; Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte des Aš'aritenthums*, in *Actes du VIIIe C.I.O.* (1893), 4. Gazzāli refers to this anecdote in his *Munqid min aḍ-ḍalāl* (Damascus, 1358/1939), 109–110, translated by W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of Al-Ghazāli* (London, 1953), 44–45, stating that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's " observation is justified, but it applies to false doctrine which is not widely and generally known "; which was not the case of the Taʿlīmīya heresy exposed and refuted by himself.

[30] See text, paragraphs 2 and 97.

[31] See text, paragraph 98.

In an earlier part of his treatise,[32] Ibn Qudāma gives the titles of three works by Ibn 'Aqīl, works which he describes as "filled with traditional doctrines and with the refutation of heretical innovators." When these are eliminated from the list of Ibn 'Aqīl's works as given by Ibn Rağab,[33] only one comprehensive work on theology is left; namely, *Kitāb al-Iršād fī uṣūl ad-dīn*. This work is unfortunately not known to us except through excerpts quoted by later authors. One of these excerpts, found in Ibn Mufliḥ's *al-Ādāb aš-šar'īya*,[34] may be quoted here because of the particular bearing it has on the present question: wa-qad qāla Ibn 'Aqīl fī ḫuṭbati *'I-Iršād*: wa-a'taḏiru 'an laumi ba'ḍi ahli zamāninā bi-qaulihim: "ali 'štiġālu bi-ġairi 'l-uṣūli wa's-sukūtu 'anhā aḥrā" fa-inna hāḏā qaulu ğāhilin bi-maḥalli 'l-uṣūli munḥarifin 'ani 's-ṣawābi— wa-ḏakara kalāman kaṯīran. (Ibn 'Aqīl said in the preface of the *Iršād*: I apologize for the reproof made by some of our contemporaries in their assertion: "It is more proper to occupy one's self in something other than theology and to abstain from discussing it." Indeed, this is the assertion of one who is ignorant of the rightful place of theology and deviating from what is right.—Ibn 'Aqīl wrote at length in this vein.)

There is hardly any need to emphasize the diametrically opposed points of view of Ibn 'Aqīl and Ibn Qudāma as to the legitimacy of theological discussions. This statement points it out clearly; and its wording is such as not to elicit moderation in the opponent's counter-attack. The evidence seems then to point to the *Iršād* as being, in part, the object of Ibn Qudāma's strongly-worded censure.

Description of the manuscript.—As mentioned above, the present manuscript of Ibn Qudāma's treatise is the only one extant, and is preserved in the Āṣafīya Library in Ḥaidarābād. Its catalogue number is *Maǧāmī'* 13. It has 13 folios, corresponding to folios 71a–83a of the *maǧmū'a*; and it has 25 lines per page. The paper is worm-eaten and patched; but neither of these defects interferes with the reading of the text. At the bottom of the *verso* of each folio, the first word or words of the

[32] Paragraph 12.
[33] *Ḏail*, I, 189.
[34] Vol. I, 229.

recto of the next folio are noted, thus giving clear evidence of the uninterrupted succession of the manuscript's folios. There are no lacunae in the text.

In the colophon, the copyist gives his full name: 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Uṭmān b. Rāšid b. 'Uṭmān Āl Ğalāğil as-Sunnī an-Naǧdī; and he gives the date of his manuscript as "the first day of the lunar month of Ramaḍān, in the year 1304" (May 24, 1887).[35] A marginal note made by him next to the colophon indicates that he checked his copy with its original for possible mistakes. The copy's original is clearly not that of the author himself, but rather of some copy thereof.[36] This is evident from the mistakes which were noted by the copyist, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, and the corrections made by him. Thus the present copy is removed from the author's original by at least one other copy; and, although there is no way of determining at present the exact relation which it bears to the original, it was so reproduced by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as to afford us some noteworthy information concerning both itself and the copy which served as its original.

'Abd ar-Raḥmān was careful in reproducing his predecessor's copy. Many of its mistakes were quite obvious; yet, in correcting them as he did, he was careful to preserve the variant reading either in the body of the text or in the margins. A point in favour of the former copyist is that he was apparently careful to reproduce all that he saw, though he may have misread at times.

The text is written in very legible and handsome handwriting. It is diacritically pointed, save in a few places which the copyist could not decipher and for which he did not risk conjectures; these he carefully reproduced as they appeared to him, without diacritical points. There are a few cases of vocal-

[35] On the Ğalāğil family and the town of Ğalāğil in Naǧd, Central Arabia (about 100 miles northwest of the Sa'ūdi capital, Riyāḍ, just south of Maǧma'a), see 'Uṭmān b. Bišr an-Naǧdī, *'Unwān al-maǧd fī tārīḫ Naǧd*, 2 vols., indexes. The copyist's grandfather, a man of wealth, Rāšid b. 'Uṭmān b. Ğalāğil, was living in Baġdād in the year 1239/1823, when his first cousin (paternal side), Muḥammad b. Ğalāğil, came to him from Ğalāğil to enlist his help against an aggressor there; *ibid.*, II, 14.

[36] The marginal note in question reads as follows: *balaġa taṣḥīḥan 'alā 'l-aṣli wa'l-ḥamdu li 'llāh* (The collation of this copy with the original has been brought to completion.—Praise be to God.).

ization, but not of a consistent pattern. Several places in the body of the text and in the margins bear indications that the copyist had filled in one or more words which he had missed, thus corroborating his above-mentioned note to the effect that his text had been collated with its original.

The whole of the manuscript, including all marginal notes, are in the handwriting of the present copyist. The marginal notes[37] serve various purposes. Two of them sum up the gist of the paragraph next to which they appear. One of these is appended to the author's definition of *ẓandaqa*:[38] *tafsīr az-ẓandaqa* (explanation of the term *ẓandaqa*). The other one is appended to the author's reason for censuring a fellow Ḥanbalite:[39] *unẓur mā 'd-dā'ī ilā ḏikri 'aibihī ba'da mā tāba minhu* (notice what called for the relating of his [i.e. Ibn'Aqīl's] fault after he had repented for it).

Some marginal notes are corrections for mistakes. Here, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān followed two different procedures. He would either insert the correction into the text, noting the mistake in the margin and preceding it or having it followed by the remark:[40] *fī'l-aṣl* . . . (in the original, this word is written in this manner); or else, he would allow the mistake to stand as it is in the text, noting the correction or conjecture in the margin. Here, the correction would be preceded by the categorical *ṣawābuhu* (the correct word in this case is . . .),[41] or by the conjectural *la'allahū* (this word should perhaps be . . .).[42]

The word *q-f* is found in two marginal notes; one opposite the statement that the pious Ancestors (*Salaf*) did not make use of allegorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*),[43] and another opposite the statement that private judgment (*iǧtihād*) was not meant for all men and, if it were, would impose upon them that which is beyond their capacity.[44] It would thus appear that the word is the imperatif *qif*!, which could be rendered as " stop and take

[37] These are found on fols. 72b, 73a, 76a, 77b, 78b, 79a, 80b, 81b, 82a, 82b.
[38] Folio 72b.
[39] Folio 73a.
[40] E.g., folio 80b.
[41] Folio 78b.
[42] E.g., folio 82b.
[43] Folio 73a.
[44] Folio 76a. Cf. n. 58 of Translation.

notice," used for the purpose of drawing special attention to the passages in question. Other marginal notes consist of a word or group of words which the copyist had skipped, then recovered in the process of collation.

Notes.—The notes to the translation are mainly for the identification of all names mentioned by the author. They also identify Koranic verses, a separate index for which is supplied. In cases where the Koranic verse, or the tradition, is not completely quoted by the author, the completion is made in the notes when it appeared necessary for the understanding of the text.

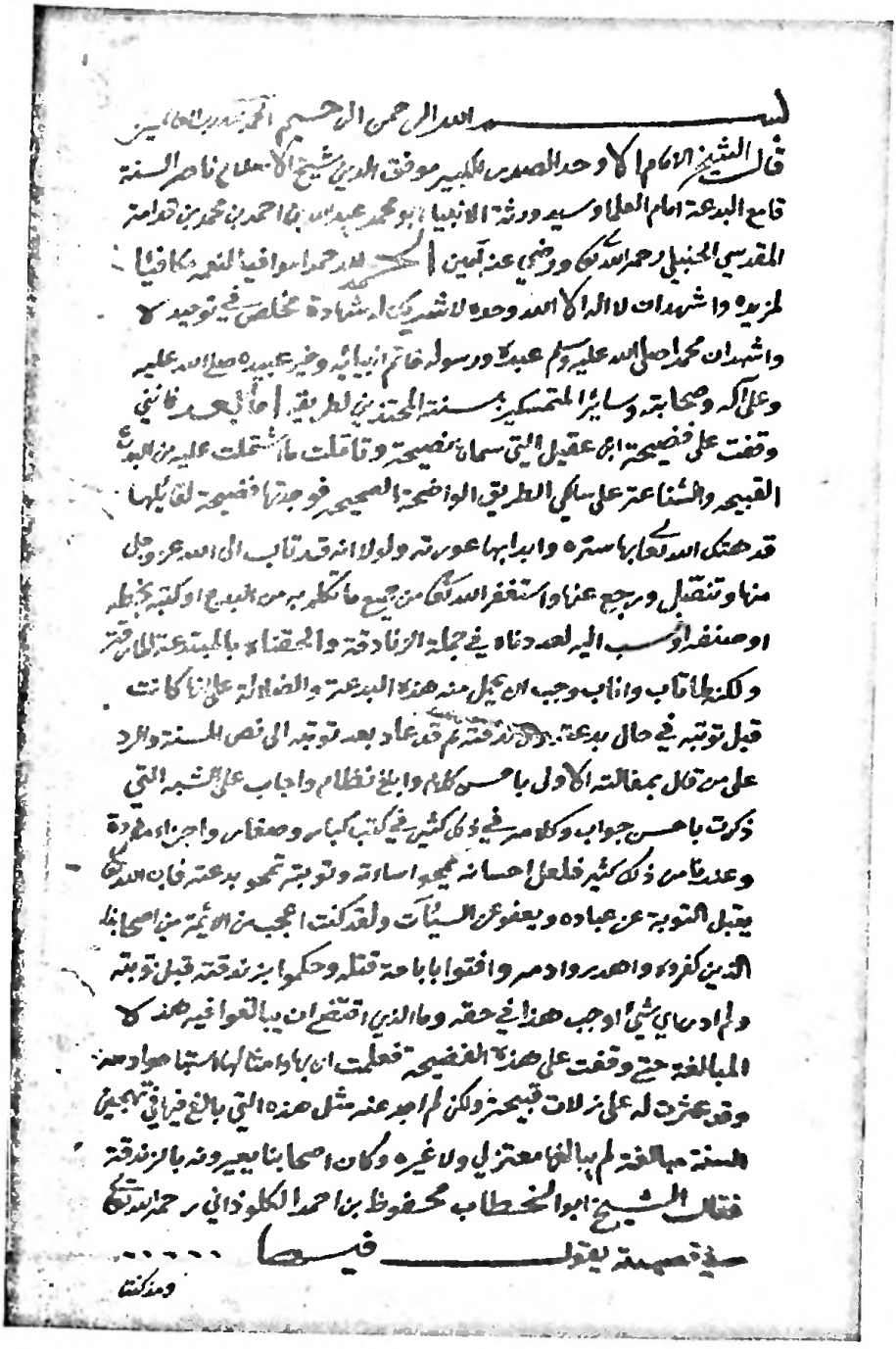
Orthographical modifications of importance are indicated in the critical notes. Modifications of a simple kind are not indicated; for instance, the change of a long *alif* to a short one, the suppression of an *alif*, the addition of a *hamza*, etc. The critical notes also contain variant readings of identical passages found in other sources. These sources, cited in abbreviated form, are fully identified in the List of Works and Articles Cited.

In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Rašād ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib of the Arab League's Manuscript Institute for photographing the manuscript of Ibn Qudāma's present work for me during his stay in Ḥaidarābād in 1951. My thanks are also due to the Committee on Summer Fellowships, Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, for a grant in aid of this work, and to the Trustees of the " E. J. W. Gibb Memorial " for publishing it in the Memorial's New Series.

Ann Arbor, Michigan.
May 6, 1956.

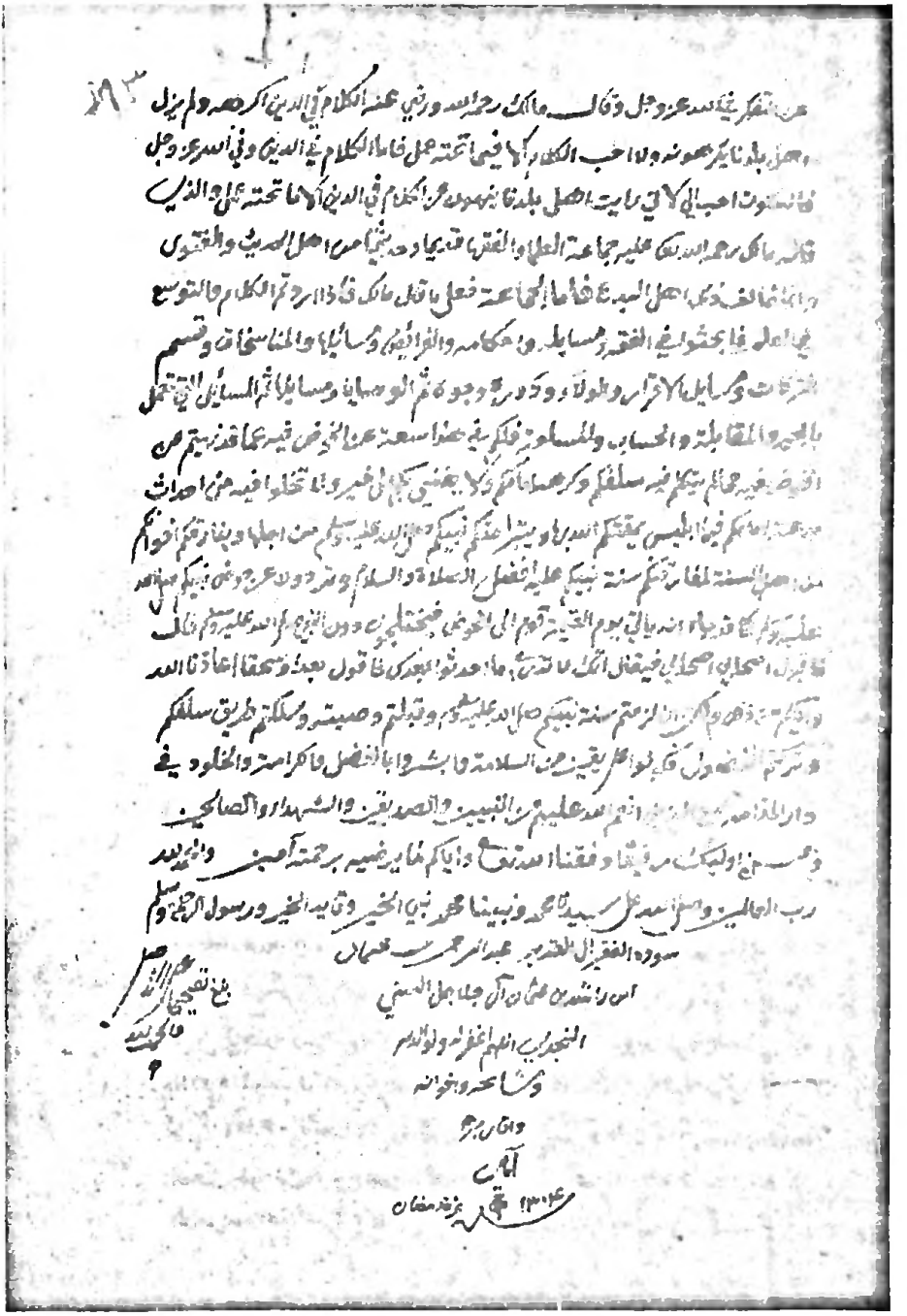
Five years have passed since I submitted the original manuscript for publication. Difficulties connected with the printing of the Arabic text, a perennial problem of Western orientalism, made it necessary to resort to photographing my hand-written copy, for which I beg the reader's indulgence.

Belmont, Massachusetts. G. M.
October 17, 1961.



Folio 71b: *Ibn Qudāma's Censure* (Incipit)

Folio 80b: *Ibn Qudāma's Censure*



Folio 83a: *Ibn Qudāma's Censure* (Explicit and colophon)

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

1. Praise be to God in due proportion to His gifts and with due thankfulness for His bounty. I testify, with the testimony of a person sincere in declaring the unity of God, that there is no god save God alone, and that He has no associate. I testify that Muḥammad—God's blessing and peace be on him—is His servant and Apostle, Seal of the Prophets and the best of His servants. May the blessings of God be on him, on his family, on his Companions and on all those who cling to his Sunna and follow his example.

2. To proceed.—I have come upon the scandal of Ibn 'Aqīl which he had called " a good counsel;" and, having considered what it contained of vile heretical innovations and atrocious slander against those who pursue the clear and true path, I found it to be a disgrace to its author, for which God had dishonoured him and laid bare his depravity. Had he not returned to God in penitence for it, had he not cleansed himself and renounced it, had he not asked God's forgiveness for all the heretical innovations which he had uttered, or written in his own handwriting, or composed into books, or for those of which he had been accused, we would certainly have reckoned him in the ranks of the *zindīqs* and associated him with the schismatic inventors of heretical innovations. But since he has returned to God in penitence and amended, this heretical innovation and error of his should be regarded as having occurred before he had made his retractation, while he was still in the state of his heretical innovation and *zandaqa*. Moreover, he did return after his retractation to the authoritative text of the Sunna and with the best of arguments and the most efficacious of procedures he applied himself to the refutation of those who upheld his former doctrine, giving answer in the best possible way to the false arguments which were cited. His treatment regarding this subject is extensive, committed to large and small books and separate tracts, of which we have a considerable number. So, perhaps his right-doing will blot out his

wrong-doing, and perhaps his repentance will blot out his heretical innovation; for God accepts repentance from His servants and forgives the evil deeds.[1]

3. I used to wonder at the Imāms among our companions who, before Ibn ʿAqīl had made his retractation, declared him an unbeliever, deemed his blood fit to be shed, issued legal decisions to permit the taking of his life, and pronounced him a *ẓindīq*. But I could not imagine what it was that rendered this procedure necessary in his regard, nor what required that they pursue it to such extremes, until I had come upon this scandal. I knew then that it was because of it, and the likes of it, that they deemed permissible the shedding of his blood. I had already lighted by chance on some bad slips of his; but I have not found anything proceeding from him comparable to this one in which he employed himself, in the reprobation of the Sunna, to a degree so excessive as not to have been equalled by a Muʿtazilite, nor by anyone else.

4. Our companions used to accuse him of *ẓandaqa*. The Šaih Abū'l-Ḫaṭṭāb Maḥfūẓ b. Aḥmad al-Kalwaḏānī[2] said in reference to it in his *qaṣīda*:

> Never have I ceased, since a member of Aḥmad's School,
> To speak in defence of their honour and protect it;
> No object of desire averted me from upholding the truth,
> Nor was I ever a *ẓindīq*, controversy's confederate.

—alluding to Ibn ʿAqīl, inasmuch as he was accused of being one.

5. The cause leading to his retractation, as related to me, was as follows: When this scandal had proceeded from him, the Šarīf Abū Ǧaʿfar[3] deemed his blood fit to be shed, and issued, together with his companions, legal decisions to permit the taking of his life. Ibn ʿAqīl was in hiding for fear of being killed. One day, while he was on board a ship, he heard a young fellow-passenger say: "I wish that I could find this *ẓindīq* Ibn ʿAqīl, so that I could advance myself in the favour of God by killing him and pouring forth his blood!" Thus frightened, Ibn ʿAqīl disembarked, went to the Šarīf Abū Ǧaʿfar and made his retractation, asking for God's forgiveness.[4]

6. I shall now relate his retractation and its circumstances,

citing the chain of transmitters, so that it be known that those of his works which are found to be in contradiction to the Sunna are to be considered among those for which he has repented. Let no one therefore become deceived by them; let no one follow them, lest he go astray. He who follows them will be like Ibn ʿAqīl before he had made his retractation, while still in the state of his *zandaqa*, and the shedding of his blood will become lawful.

7. I was given the information by the Šaiḫ and Imām, the trustworthy and competent traditionalist, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabarzad al-Baġdādī,[5] in the month of Ḏū'l-Qaʿda, in the year 603,[6] at our divinely guarded mosque—may God (exalted is He above all) continue to watch over it—located on the outskirts of Damascus. Reading it back to him, I said: You received the information by written licence, if not by having personally heard it, from the most illustrious and learned Qāḍī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad al-Bazzāz,[7] who said: On Monday, the 8th of the month of Muḥarram, in the year 465,[8] I was present when the Šaiḫ and Imām, Abū'l-Wafāʾ b. ʿAqīl, made his retractation in the mosque of the Šarīf Abū Ǧaʿfar, located in the quarter of Nahr Muʿallā. A multitudinous crowd was in attendance on that day. Ibn ʿAqīl said:

8. "ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl states the following:

"I declare myself pure before God from the systems of heretical innovators: Muʿtazilism and others; from having associated with its masters, treated its associates with veneration, invoked the mercy of God on their predecessors, and made a great display of their moral qualities. What I had copied, and what has been discovered in my handwriting, of their doctrines and errors, I hereby return to God in penitence for having written them and read them. It is not lawful for me to write them, or to read them, or to believe them."

Ibn ʿAqīl mentions something else here,[9] then goes on to say:

"I beg of God forgiveness and I return to Him in penitence for having mixed with heretical innovators: Muʿtazilites and others; for having sought to imitate them; for having invoked God's mercy upon them; and for having treated them with

veneration. For all of this is forbidden; and it is not lawful for a Muslim to do such things, because of what the Prophet has said: 'He who venerates the author of a heretical innovation helps to bring about the destruction of Islam.' Our master, the Šarīf Abū Ğa'far, and those Šaiḫs and followers with him, my superiors and my colleagues were right in finding fault with me, because of what they had witnessed in my handwriting in those books from which I declare myself pure before God. I hereby affirm that I was wrong in them, not right. Should anything which is inconsistent with this writing and confession become retained against me, the Imām of the Muslims[10] shall have the right to punish me therefor, in accordance with the requirements of the Law, such as retention, exemplary correction, banishment and other forms of punishment. I have called on God, on His angels and on men of learning to be witnesses to all of that which I have confessed, doing so without compulsion or coercion. The inward and outward dispositions of my mind are the same regarding this confession. God has said: 'If anyone repeats the offence, God will take vengeance on him. God is mighty, wielder of vengeance.' "[11]

9. Then the witnesses set down their attestations, transcripts of which follow:[12]

" The confesser has asked me to witness his having confessed all that is contained within the scope of this document. Signed: 'Abd Allāh b. Riḍwān,[13] in the month of Muḥarram, in the year 465.

" He called on me to witness the same. Signed: Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq b. Aḥmad b. as-Sunnī,[14] on the same date.

" The confesser has asked me to witness his having confessed all that is contained within the scope of this document. Signed: al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf,[15] in his own handwriting.

" I heard the utterance of this confession by the confesser himself. Signed: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan.[16]

" The confesser asked me to bear witness of the same against himself. Signed: 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf."[17]

This is the end of the retractation.

10. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh[18] then wrote: On this day, a multitudinous crowd was in attendance at the mosque of the Šarīf.

11. The present scandal is one of the sum of things for which Ibn ʿAqīl returned to God in penitence, admitted that they consist in error and heretical innovation, and stated that if anything for which he repented should be found in his handwriting, punishment therefor will be strictly exacted from him, and God will take vengeance on him. How then can anyone allow himself to adduce these doctrines of his as arguments, or to be deceived by them, or to uphold them, or to attach himself to them, despite the consensus of the learned men of his town to seek a retractation of them from him and, failing this, to allow his blood to be shed because of them and similar doctrines? This indicates, more forcefully than anything else, his transgression and error. Now should these doctrines have proceeded from him after he had made his retractation, this would then be proof of his *ẓandaqa*, of his having persisted in his heretical innovation and reverted to his error. For the meaning of *ẓandaqa* is to make an outward show of belief in the true religion while inwardly adhering to its contrary. This religious hypocrisy used to be referred to as *nifāq* in the days of the Apostle of God; but today it is called *ẓandaqa*.

12. This man has composed a separate tract in condemnation of the allegorical interpretation of the divine attributes, and in refutation of those who thus interpret them.[19] He has also composed a separate work treating of the "letters" and the "voice."[20] He is furthermore the author of *Kitāb al-intiṣār li's-sunna*,[21] and other such books, all of which he filled with traditional doctrines and with the refutation of heretical innovators. If he was merely making this outward show of orthodoxy, while secretly adhering to heretical innovations, then he is a *ẓindīq*. How then can it be permissible for anyone to adduce his doctrines as arguments, or to approve for himself a condition such as his, or to go astray by following his error? But God preserve us! nor should this be even thought of him! Since, however, he is known to have had two states, a state of heretical innovation and a state of repentance, we ascribe all

that has been discovered of his innovating tenets to the state of heretical innovation, nothing more.

13. Now, it is not my custom to mention the faults of our companions; I would certainly prefer to hide their defects. But it has become necessary to expose the case of this man since some people have been deceived by his doctrines, and a group of our companions have followed him in his heretical innovation. Their good opinion of him, and their conviction that he belonged in the ranks of those who summon to the obedience of the Sunna, caused them to fall into doubt with respect to their belief. It has therefore become necessary to lay bare his case and to remove their good opinion of him, so that their deception by his doctrines will leave them and the disease be arrested by cutting off its cause. For a thing comes to nought only at the source of its subsistence.—Assistance and direction to the right course rest with God. We ask of Him that He keep us steadfast in the path of Islam and the Sunna.

14. At any rate, he has inspired aversion for unquestioning imitation in matters of faith, and disallowed holding a good opinion of the doctors. How then is it possible to entertain a good opinion of him who disallows such an opinion to be entertained of himself? And how is it possible to accept the statement of him who forbids the acceptance of another's statement? The proper thing for us to do is to accept what he says of himself—which would create a bad opinion of him—but not to accept what he says of another. His case would then be similar to one who confesses something against himself as well as against another: his statement against himself is accepted, but his statement against the other is not.

15. And now I shall give answer to his doctrines—God willing—article by article, and make evident the faultiness of his discourse, in its fundamental principles and in their applications—with God's direction toward the true course and with His assistance.

16. His statement, " Indeed, we were once highly respected among the adherents of the various schools; but here we are today berated, expelled, repressed, etc."—is an indication from him to the effect that our Ancestors followed certain doctrines

and that we follow others; that we have thus innovated doctrines other than theirs, for which we deserve to be punished. But this is falsehood and defamation; it is the statement of one who has neither decency nor piety! Let him tell us what it is that we have innovated, and in which doctrine we have differed from our Ancestors. If he should say, " you have abstained from the interpretation of the Koranic verses and the traditions which have come down to us with regard to the divine attributes," claiming that the Ancestors did interpret them and explain them, then he is uttering falsehood, forging lies, and is guilty of the most grievous aberration. For there is no question about the fact that the doctrine of the Ancestors, in this regard, consisted in acknowledgment, unreserved approval, and avoidance of the temerity of using allegorical interpretation and *tamṯīl*-anthropomorphism.[22] Moreover, the fundamental rule is to presume the lack of their use of allegorical interpretation. So let him who claims that they did interpret them allegorically produce evidence in support of his statement. But there is no way of knowing this save by the transmission and relation of traditions. Let him then transmit to us traditions to this effect on the authority of the Apostle of God or that of his Companions, or on the authority of one of the Successors or one of the approved Imāms. Furthermore, he who claims this is one of the partisans of speculative theology; and they are the most ignorant of men with regard to the traditions of the Companions, the least possessed of knowledge with regard to those of the Successors, and the most neglectful of their transmission. Whence then would they have knowledge of traditions such as these? Even so, should anyone among them transmit something, his transmission would not be accepted, nor would he be heeded. The sole possessions of these people consist in forgery, falsehood, and false witness.

17. It is agreed among traditionists, orthodox and schismatics alike, that the doctrine of the Ancestors as regards the attributes of God, consisted in acknowledging them, allowing them to pass intact, submitting unreservedly to their Author, and avoiding the temerity of undertaking their interpretation. It is with this information that the traditions have

come down to us on their authority, both in general terms and in detail. Thus, it has been related on the authority of Mālik b. Anas,[23] al-Auzā'ī,[24] Sufyān aṭ-Ṭaurī,[25] Sufyān b. 'Uyaina,[26] and Ma'mar b. Rāšid,[27] with regard to the traditions treating of the divine attributes, that they allowed them to pass intact as they had come down from the Prophet. Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr[28] said in his *Kitāb al-'ilm*:[29] Those traditions which have come down to us through trustworthy traditionists on the authority of the Prophet, having proved to be sound on the authority of the Companions, constitute knowledge to be followed as one's religion. But that which was innovated after them, having no basis in what has come down to us on their authority, constitutes a heretical innovation and an error. We give our unreserved approval to those traditions treating of the names of God and His attributes, which have come down to us on their authority; and, as it was in their case, we do not dispute with regard to them. The Ancestors related them, but held their tongues from discussing them, though they, of all men, were the most profound in religious knowledge, had the greatest breadth in understanding, and were the least meddlesome. Their silence was not the result of inability. He who does not deem fit for himself what was fit for them, will be misled and will lose the right way.

18. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan,[30] the disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa,[31] has related that the learned men of East and West are agreed that these traditions which have come down to us, treating of the divine attributes, are not to be interpreted—or words to that effect.

19. A Ḥanbalite has said: I asked Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal[32] about those traditions which relate that God will be seen, that He descends to the heaven closest to the earth, and that He sets His foot down, and other relations similar to these. Whereupon, Abū 'Abd Allāh answered: We believe in them, and accept them as true, without rejecting any part of them, when their chains of transmitters are sound; nor do we refuse the statements of the Apostle, for we know that what he has brought to us is true. God should not be described in excess of His own description of Himself, boundless and

immeasurable: "There is nothing anything like Him! He is the Hearing, the Seeing."[33] Therefore, we say exactly what He has said, and describe Him as He has described Himself, without going beyond His description, nor removing from Him any of His attributes merely for fear of some possible slander which might be levelled against us. We believe in these traditions, we acknowledge them, and we allow them to pass intact as they have come down to us, without being able to understand the how of them, nor to fathom their intended sense, except in accordance with His own description of Himself; and He is, according to His own description, the Hearing, the Seeing, boundless and immeasurable. His attributes proceed from Him and are His own. We do not go beyond the Koran or the traditions from the Prophet and his Companions; nor do we know the how of these, save by the acknowledgment of the Apostle and the confirmation of the Koran.

20. Abū 'Abd Allāh also said: One day, Wakī'[34] related to us one of these traditions, and Zakarīyā' b. 'Adī[35] shuddered. Whereupon, Wakī', having become angry, said: We are old enough to have heard al-A'maš[36] and Sufyān[37] relating these traditions without denying them. This is something in respect of which we know of no differences among our Ancestors. He who denies them is either ignorant or feigns ignorance, is wanting in piety and decency, and when lying, he neither fears God, nor is he ashamed of himself before men.

21. Now as for us, we follow the path of our Ancestors, and the beaten track of our Imāms, and the Sunna of our Prophet. We have not innovated any doctrines, nor have we made any innovating additions to theirs. On the contrary, we believe in the traditions which have come down to us, and allow them to pass intact, exactly as they have come from the Prophet; we uphold their teachings; we hold our tongue from discussing those things about which they were silent; we pursue the same course of conduct as they did. Therefore, there is no reason to accuse us of disagreement and innovation.

22. Ibn 'Aqīl was merely speaking of his own condition, while in the state of innovation. When he introduced innovations into the religion of God and differed from his Ancestors,

from his Imāms, and from the notable members of his School, and followed the partisans of speculative theology and heretical innovations, abandoning orthodoxy and taking up heresy—his blood was deemed fit to be shed, his mind was made insecure, he became the object of injury and flight, intimidation and pursuit, and finally, he became humiliated and despised. So he ascribed his own condition to others; and misrepresented the innovation which issued from him as proceeding from others than himself. He clothed others with his own description, and accused the people of the Sunna of a sin similar to his own, as the saying goes: " She reproached me with her own fault, and slipped away."[38]

23. As for the people of the Sunna who follow the traditions and pursue the path of the righteous Ancestors, no imperfection taints them, nor does any disgrace occur to them. Among them are the active learned men, the friends of God and the virtuous men, the God-fearing and pious, the pure and the righteous; those who have attained the state of sainthood and the performance of miracles, and those who worship in humility and exert themselves in the study of religious law. It is with their praise that books and registers are adorned. Their annals embellish the congregations and assemblies. Hearts become alive at the mention of their life histories, and happiness ensues from following in their footsteps. They are supported by religion; and religion is by them enforced. Of them the Koran speaks; and through the Koran they themselves express. And they are a refuge to men when events afflict them: for kings, and others of lesser rank, seek their visits, regarding their supplications to God as a means of obtaining blessings, and asking them to intercede for them with God.

24. We, then, are the authors of excellent exhortations; to us belongs the glory of this world and the next. He who looks into the books which learned men have devoted to the praise of God's friends, will find mention there only of our kind. When relations of miracles are transmitted, they are transmitted only as proceeding from us; and when a preacher, or any other learned person, wishes to render his exhortation pleasing and embellish it, he does so by relating the lives of some of our

ascetics, or the miracles of our devotees, or the portraits of our learned men. And at the mention of our pious, the mercy of God settles upon men, hearts become calm, prayers are answered, and afflictions are removed. What a gifted poet was he who said:

Gone is the predominance of heretical innovators;
Their bond first weakened then failed altogether.
Leagued in rending their union asunder
Was the faction of Iblīs[39] who'd first brought them together.
Pray tell, in God's name, have you, in your innovation,
Some jurisprudent or some Imām worthy of being followed?
Such as Sufyān, the Ṭaurī, it was he
Who first taught men the secrets of piety.
Or Sulaimān, the Taimi,[40] it was he
Who, for the fears of the Day of Judgment, shunned sleep.
Have you such as Mālik, Imām of the Two Cities?
That Sea of religious knowledge free from contamination.
Or such as Syria's jurisprudent, its own Auzā'ī?
Who would succeed against the best of Koranic reciters.
Or such as Islam's Brave, I mean Aḥmad?
There's religion's bastion! verily a bastion is impregnable!
He did not fear their whip as they threatened him;
Nay, nor did he fear the gleaming swish of their sword!

As for Ibn 'Aqīl his faction consists of the partisans of speculative theology. To speak of them is but to censure them, to caution against them, to inspire with aversion against associating with them, to order abandoning and shunning them, and to abstain from studying their works. Not a single one among them can gain a firm foothold in sainthood; nor will any banner of theirs establish itself among the pious; nor will any among them be able to claim a miracle; nor will they see, in the life to come, either their Lord or His highly esteemed saints. They declare the miracles of the pious to be false, and they deny the favours bestowed by God upon His believing servants. They are therefore intensely hated in this world, and they will be tortured in the next. None among them will prosper, nor will he succeed in following the right direction.

26. The Imām Aḥmad has said: The partisan of speculative

theology will never prosper. No one is ever seen who has studied speculative theology, but that there is a corrupt quality to his mind. And the Imām aš-Šāfi'ī[41] has said: No one has borne upon his shoulders the mantel of speculative theology and prospered. He also said: My judgment with respect to the partisans of speculative theology is that they be smitten with fresh leafless palm branches, that they be paraded among the communities and tribes, and that it be proclaimed: " this is the punishment of him who has deserted the Book and the Sunna, and taken up speculative theology." And Abū Yūsuf[42] has said: He who seeks religious knowledge through speculative theology, becomes a *zindiq*. And 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr has said: Jurisprudents and traditionists among the inhabitants of all the great camp-cities are agreed that the partisans of speculative theology are partisans of heretical innovations and of deviation. They are not generally considered to belong in the ranks of learned men. The latter consist only of the people of tradition and those engaged in its study. And Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Mālikī[43] has said: In the opinion of our associates,[44] the partisans of erroneous opinions and heretical innovations are the partisans of speculative theology. Therefore, every speculative theologian belongs to the partisans of erroneous opinions and heretical innovations, be he Aš'arite or not. No testimony of his should be accepted; he should be ostracized, and punished for his heretical innovation; and if he sticks to it, he should be made to retract it.

27. The censure of the partisans of speculative theology is abundant. Now Ibn 'Aqīl is one of the partisans of speculative theology and, as such, defends their system of thought. It is for this reason that we speak against him and mention his faults, on account of his having become one of their members, and urged others to follow their path.

28. As for this statement of his, " The stupid person is he who is deceived by his Ancestors and relies upon the doctrines of his professors, trustful in following their authority without examining their doctrines," it consists of venomous, vicious words with which he allusively censures following the path of the pious Ancestors, finding fault with what our Imāms have

praised and enjoined us to do; namely, to adhere to their path and be guided by their mode of life. On the other hand, he summons to the doctrines of the partisans of speculative theology, and to the study of sciences founded on reason; namely, the science of speculative theology, the censure of which we have already mentioned on the authority of the Imāms, and its leading of its partisan to the states of *zandaqa*, heretical innovation and the total lack of prosperity. The evidence of what the Imāms have said is manifest in Ibn 'Aqīl's case. For since he devoted himself to it and preferred it to the science of tradition, he became a *zindīq* urging others to cease following the Ancestors whose orthodoxy and right guidance are matters of general agreement, whom God has revealed His being satisfied with them and His having chosen them. He has also praised and commended them. Now sufficing you are those who have been praised and commended by God, and the accounts of those whom the Prophet has recommended, urging men to follow them and be guided by their example.

29. Moreover, our Imāms and learned men have not ceased urging us to cling to their mode of life and adopt their course. Then along comes this poor wretch cautioning us against them and desiring us to form an evil opinion of them, abandon their path, and end by following the partisans of speculative theology and being guided by their example. This, now, is one of the most decisive indications of his error and of the evilness of his doctrines. For, were it not for his opposition to our Imāms and his pursuing a path other than theirs, he would not have sought to inspire us with aversion against them.

30. Yet, at the end of this discourse, he did say: "God, fear God! Adhere to the path of the pious Ancestors." Thus, through a desire for covering up, he contradicted what he had just been saying, after having dishonoured his soul and removed its disguise by censuring their doctrines, by inspiring aversion against following them as guides and by urging others to oppose them. But we are not of those who accept what he says in dispraise of them who have been praised by God and His Apostle and Imāms; nor will his statement cause us to abandon the path of those whose path we have been enjoined to pursue.

31. God has said: "Those who have precedence, the first of the Emigrants and the Helpers, and those who have followed them in well-doing, God is satisfied with them and they are satisfied with Him."[45]—"Muḥammad is the Apostle of God. Those who are with him . . ."[46]—to the end of the verse.

32. And the Prophet has said: "The best of men are those of my generation, then those who succeed them." He also said: "Do not revile my Companions; for, were one of you to give alms the size of Mount Uḥud in gold, he would not be rewarded as one of them for giving a *mudd* or a *naṣīf*."[47]—"Verily, God has chosen me, and has chosen my Companions, and has made of them in-laws and helpers for me."—"Keep to my course of conduct, and the course of conduct of the rightly guided Caliphs after me; hold fast thereto."—"Follow the example of those after me: Abū Bakr[48] and 'Umar."[49]—"My Companions are like the constellations; you will find guidance in following the example of whichever of them you choose." The Prophet also said, when he spoke of the sects: "They shall all perish in Hell except one." "Which one is it?" he was asked. He replied: "that to which I and my Companions conform."

33. And it is related that Ibn Mas'ud[50] said: "Verily, God looked into the hearts of mankind and found the heart of Muḥammad to be the best; so He sent him with His message. Then again He looked into the hearts of mankind, and found the hearts of Muḥammad's Companions to be the best after him; so He chose them for the companionship of the Prophet and his assistance."—Our Imāms have not ceased urging us to follow their path and be guided by their right mode of life.

34. Ibn Mas'ūd has also said: "Let those among you who wish to be guided, follow the example of the Companions of the Apostle of God; for they were, of the people of this Community, the most pious in heart, the most profound in religious knowledge, the least meddlesome, the nearest in respect to the right direction, and the best in respect of condition;—a people whom God has chosen for the companionship of His Prophet and the establishment of His religion. Avow, therefore, their excellence, and follow in their footsteps, for they were pursuing the right direction."—Some of these

words, or words of their substance, have also been related on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.[51]

35. Ibn Mas'ūd has also said: "Follow the example of our predecessors and do not perpetrate heretical innovations; for you have been defended therefrom."—"Verily, we take after the example of our predecessors, and do not initiate anything new; we follow their example and do not perpetrate heretical innovations; we shall not go astray, so long as we cling to tradition."—"Beware of turning innovator! beware of immoderation! beware of exaggeration! and keep to the old religion!"—"I am more fearful for your sakes of other things than I am of the Antichrist; namely, matters proceeding from your leaders. No matter which insignificant man or woman of those days had followed the first course. So I, today, follow the Sunna."

36. Ḥuḏaifa b. al-Yamān[52] has said: "O Reciters of the Koran! take the path of those who preceded you. For, by God, if indeed you pursue the right course you will surely greatly succeed; but should you leave it to the right and to the left, you will go far astray.

37. The Imām Aḥmad has said: "The fundamental principles of the Sunna, in our opinion, consist in clinging to that which the Companions of the Apostle of God conformed to, following their example, and abstaining from heretical innovations. Every innovation is an error.

38. A statement has been related on the authority of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz,[53] the import of which follows: Stop in matters of religion, maintaining an attitude of prudent reserve, where the first community of believers stopped; for they did so on the basis of good knowledge and, with critical perception, refrained from delving too far into religious questions. They were more fitted for the task of examining them, and would have been more worthy of favour, if such a deed earned favour. Now if you were to say, "these religious questions arose after them," the answer is that no one innovated them but he who has pursued a path other than theirs, and held himself superior to them. Indeed, they have discussed of these matters what is sufficient, and prescribed of them what suffices to relieve from doubt. To do less than what they have done would be to fall

short of what is required; to do more, would be to inspire others to that which is unlawful. Some people fell short of the first believers, and thus did evil; others went too far, and thus fell into extremism. But those who maintain the middle course are indeed pursuing the right direction.

39. Al-Auzā'ī, Imām of the Syrians, has said: Adhere steadily to the Sunna; stop in matters of religion, maintaining an attitude of prudent reserve, where the first community of believers stopped; pursue the path of your pious Ancestors, for that which was fit for them is also fit for you; uphold their teachings; refrain from that from which they refrained. If theological speculation were a moral good, you would not have been especially singled out for it to the exclusion of your Ancestors; for no moral good was treasured away from them which, to their exclusion, has been secretly kept for you through some excellence of your own. They are the Companions of the Apostle of God. God chose them, and sent His Prophet into their midst, and described them, saying: "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God. Those who are with him are violent against the unbelievers, compassionate amongst themselves "[54]—to the end of the verse.

40. A man asked al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Lu'lu'ī[55] concerning Zufar b. al-Huḏail,[56] as to whether the latter used to study speculative theology. He replied: "Glory be to God! how stupid you are! Were you not the contemporary of our professors Zufar, Abū Yūsuf and Abū Ḥanīfa? And those in whose company we sat and from whom we learned, were they concerned with anything other than jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and following the example of the predecessors?"

41. These then are the Imāms, and these are their teachings, urging us to follow our Ancestors and to be guided by their example. Now do you suppose that we shall desert the word of God, and the word of His Apostle, and the admonition of our Imāms urging us to follow our Ancestors, in order to accept Ibn 'Aqīl's advice when he says: "Leave off following their example! Imitate me, and follow my teachings and the teachings of speculative theologians like me." He also seems to be saying: "I am he whose sins are numerous; I am he who is known for

his heretical innovations and errors; I am he whose slips are numerous; I am he who is ignorant of traditions; I am he who prefers the censured science of speculative theology to the religious knowledge of our chosen Prophet. Follow me, then, and leave off following him; for he summons you to salvation, whereas I invite you to hell-fire's perdition!"

42. Moreover, all of us agree that consensus (*iğmā'*) is a decisive argument. Therefore, when the companions agree on a matter, then are followed in it by the Successor-Imāms, whose example is followed in turn by the Imāms coming after them in each successive period, each urging the other to cling to it and warning their disciples against opposing it—how can it be said of him who follows that consensus to be stupid and deceived? The stupid, deceived, transgressing and innovating one is only he who opposes it and shuns it. God has said: "But he who separates himself from the Apostle after the Guidance has become manifested to him, and follows any other way than that of the believers, We shall charge him with what he will have charged himself, and cause him to face Gehenna, and what a detestable outcome!"[57]

43. Should he say, "you were ordered only to make use of *iğtihād* and to refer to that which is established by proof; you were forbidden to make use of the censured *taqlīd*;" we would say in return: there are various answers to this objection. First, the freedom of the method of the Ancestors from evils of any kind, and the soundness of its argument, has already been firmly established by decisive proof on the basis of the Koran, the Sunna, and *iğmā'*. There is therefore no need for discovering its soundness by some other proof. Secondly, this doctrine imposes an obligation upon the common people to make use of *iğtihād* in the minutiae of daily affairs and religious beliefs; and this is wrong for several reasons.

44. First, it entails accusing the Apostle of God of a fault of omission; for the Prophet did not order any one of his community to learn speculative theology, and to examine the rational proofs, that one might thereby know the soundness of his creed. On the contrary, he was contented with their pure and simple submission to God. He said: "I have been ordered to fight

against men until they say: 'there is no god save God alone.' Once they have said this, they preserve their lives and property from my exaction, except for that which has been decreed with regard to them; and the reckoning as to their sincerity is God's affair." Do you suppose that the Prophet be wrong in accepting that from them and in being contented with their pure and simple submission to God, rather than that they should learn the science of speculative theology and examine the "accident," the "substance," and the "body;" and, on the other hand, that the speculative theologians be right with respect to the transgression of him who neither learned nor examined those things? If this be so, then let them claim for themselves a law and a system of worship other than that of Islam, and leave alone Muḥammad's religion!

45. Second: To impose *iǧtihād* upon the common people is tantamount to imposing upon them that which is beyond their capacity.[58] For were they to preoccupy themselves in some science, in the pursuit of which they were to exert themselves to the utmost, they would surely be detaching themselves from the means of livelihood, from the occupations of tilling and sowing the land. The world would lie in waste, people would perish, progeny would become extinct, holy war would become neglected, and countries would become ruined. But this cannot be. God has said, in effect: "God lays not upon any soul except its capacity."[59]

46. Third: The *iǧmā'* has been concluded to the effect that the common people are not to be required to make use of *iǧtihād* in legal prescriptions incumbent upon them, but that they have a right, in dealing with their affairs, to follow the authority of the learned men. God has likewise ordered them to ask the learned men among them, for He said: "Ask the people of the Reminder, if you do not know."[60]

47. Fourth: To profess the obligation of *iǧtihād* upon all would entail a condemnation of the broad masses to error, by reason of their neglect of that which is incumbent upon them. The only thing in respect of which the use of *taqlīd* has been said to be unlawful for them is the manifest ordinance, which they know by virtue of its being manifest, without requiring

special pains, thought, or examination; namely, the profession of the unity of God, the mission of Muḥammad, the knowledge of the obligation of the five daily prayers, the fasting of Ramaḍān, and the rest of the pillars whose religious obligation is of common knowledge. These obligations, having become known by way of *iǧmā*, require no study or examination. Therefore, with regard to these obligations, it is unlawful for them to make use of *taqlīd*. But as for the minutiae of religious beliefs and the detailed prescriptions of the practices of worship and of contracts of sale, no one but an ignoramus would profess the obligation of the broad masses to make use of *taqlīd* with regard to these matters; its use is unfounded by virtue of what we have aid.

48. Now, if someone should become deceived by these doctrines of Ibn ʿAqīl, and not be contented with following his Ancestors, nor be satisfied with following his Imāms, nor hold lawful the following of their authority in such matters as abstaining from the interpretation of the divine attributes which have been contested—what then is he to do? Does he have a way to the knowledge of what is sound in these matters through his own personal effort and his rational speculation? When will he at last come to a point at which he will be able to distinguish between a sound argument and a faulty one? Now, here you have Ibn ʿAqīl who has asserted that throughout his lifetime, he exhausted his total capacity on speculative theology, along with all his intelligence and sagacity; he did not prosper, nor did he succeed in the right direction. On the contrary, his case finally ended in his committing heretical innovations leading astray, in abominable wrong-doing, and in his abandoning what is right, until he was made to retract his doctrines and to confess against himself, admitting his heretical innovation and error. Now, you who are deceived by these doctrines of his, when will you attain to his level of knowledge? And suppose that you have attained it, what is it about his condition that has so excited your admiration that you take him as an example to follow?—We have already mentioned the teachings of the Imāms with regard to the censure of speculative theology and its partisans; and we beg of God security from all evil!

49. Fifth: When we examine the evidence, we find that it

positively prescribes the opposite of what is urged by Ibn 'Aqīl; that is, to believe in the Koranic verses and the traditions treating of the divine attributes, with acknowledgment and unreserved approval, and to abstain from allegorical interpretation, from divesting God of His attributes, and from *tašbīh*- and *tamṯīl*-anthropomorphism, in accordance with the doctrine of the pious Ancestors and the approved Imāms. This will be clearly shown in nine ways.

50. First: The saying of God: "He it is who has sent down the Book to you. In it are clearly formulated verses which are the essence of the Book; while others are equivocal. Those in whose hearts is an inclination to go astray, follow what is equivocal, seeking trouble, and seeking the interpretation of these verses."[61] Thus He censured the follower of interpretation and coupled him in the censure with the seeker of trouble, making his seeking thereof an indication of inclination to go astray. This shows that his seeking is not lawful. Then He cut them off from what they had hoped for, and prevented them from attaining what they had sought, by His saying: "But no one knows the interpretation of these verses except God."[62] Then He continued: "And those well-grounded in knowledge say: 'We believe in it. All is from our Lord. No one takes warning but those of insight.'"[63] Then they asked their Lord not to make them like the deviating followers of allegorical interpretation, by saying: "O, our Lord! do not incline our hearts to go astray, after having guided us."[64]

51. Second: If the allegorical interpretation of the divine attributes were obligatory, the Prophet would have made it clear to his community; for it is unlawful to delay giving the clear declaration at its appointed time. Furthermore, if the use of allegorical interpretation were incumbent upon us, it would also have been incumbent upon him; for, so far as the legal prescriptions are concerned, he is on the same level as we. Now, if it had been incumbent upon him, he would not have neglected it; and because of his great solicitude for his Community, he did not conceal from them anything which God had ordered him to do. Indeed, God has said: "O Apostle! Deliver what

was sent to you from your Lord! If you do it not, then you have not delivered His message."[65]

52. Third: It has been established with certainty that the doctrine of the Ancestors and the Imāms who succeeded them, as regards these Koranic verses consists in acknowledgment, unimpaired transmission, agreement and unreserved approval, without allegorical interpretation and without divesting God of His attributes. We have already clearly proved that their doctrine is the true one and that they pursue the right direction; therefore, it is not lawful to oppose their course, nor to deviate from their path.

53. Fourth: Allegorical interpretation is tantamount to the passing of judgment upon God regarding matters which the interpreter does not know, and the interpretation of His intent by that which the interpreter does not know that He intended. Now, the most that the interpreter can claim is that a given expression admits a given meaning in the classical language. But it does not necessarily follow from the mere fact of the expression's admissibility of this meaning, that this meaning is intended by it. For just as it may admit this meaning, it may also admit others. It may even admit still other meanings with which the interpreter is not acquainted. Besides, he does not possess an encompassing knowledge of the content of dialects. This is especially true of the speculative theologians; for they are strangers to the knowledge of the dialects and the useful sciences. And God has forbidden that He be spoken of in ignorance; for He has said: " Say: My Lord has only forbidden indecencies, both open and secret, as well as sin, trespassing against truth, the association with God of that for which He has not sent down any authority, and the saying against God of what you do not know."[66]

54. Fifth: Allegorical interpretation is a novelty in religion. Now a novelty is any doctrine in religion with regard to which the Companions had died without ceasing to keep their silence. Novelty in religion is the heretical innovation against which our Prophet had cautioned us, and of which he informed us that it is the most evil of things. He has said: " The most evil of things are the innovated ones." He has also said: " Keep to my

course of conduct, and the course of conduct of the rightly guided Caliphs after me: hold fast thereto."—"Beware of innovated things; for every innovation is a heretical innovation, and every heretical innovation is an error." Now, the allegorical interpreter has deserted the Sunna of the Apostle of God and that of the rightly guided Caliphs; he is an inventor of heretical novelties, gone astray by virtue of the tradition mentioned.

55. Sixth: Allegorical interpretation is meddlesomeness, foolishness, immoderation, words held forth in ignorance, and exposure of oneself to danger regarding that which is not called for by necessity. For we have no need to know the meaning which God intended by His attributes; no course of action is intended by them, nor is there any obligation attached to them except to believe in them, and it is possible to believe in them without the knowledge of their intended sense. For indeed faith, with ignorance, is sound. God has enjoined belief in His angels, His scriptures, His prophets and that which He has revealed to them, though we might not know of this except the designation. God has said: "Say: We believe in God, in what has been sent down to us, and in what has been sent down to Abraham "[67]—to the end of the verse. We have been prohibited from innovating, from immoderation and from meddlesomeness. God said to His Prophet: "Say: I ask you not for any reward for it, nor am I of those who take things upon themselves."[68]

56. Seventh: If allegorical interpretation were obligatory, it would either be incumbent upon all individuals, or upon him to whom its proof has become established. If it be incumbent upon everyone and adhere to all people notwithstanding their lack of knowledge of its proof, it would entail the constraint to speak in ignorance, and to permit oneself the audacity to speak falsely and conjecturally about the attributes of God, His Book and His signs. But this, it is generally agreed, is forbidden. Now since it is not incumbent upon him who does not know it, how then can they enjoin the generality of men, including those who do not know it, to make use of it, and reprove them for neglecting it? If they were possessed of the fear of God, they would dispense them from the use of allegorical

interpretation, and order them to abstain from meddling with what they do not know.

57. Eighth: Allegorical interpretation is the use of private opinion in treating of the Book of God and the Sunna of His Apostle. He who treats of the Book of God according to his private opinion commits an offence, even though he may be right. Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq, when asked about "al-abb,"[69] said: "What heaven would protect me and what earth would carry me, if I were to say about the Book of God that which I do not know?"

58. Ninth: The allegorical interpreter combines the ascription to God of an attribute which He did not ascribe or adjoin to Himself, with the negation of an attribute which God did adjoin to Himself. When the allegorical interpreter says, "the intended sense of *istawā* is 'to gain mastery over,'" he is ascribing to God the attribute of *mastery*. But God did not ascribe this attribute to Himself. He is also negating the attribute of *istawā*, notwithstanding its reiteration by God in the Koran in seven places.[70] Now, was not God capable of saying *istaulā* until the meddlesome allegorical interpreter came along affecting cleverness and defying God and His Apostle?—Supremely exalted is He above that which the wrongdoers say of Him!

59. Since the door of allegorical interpretation has become closed by virtue of all of these ways, though any one of them is sufficiently capable of closing it, there remains but the clear path, the true saying, and the pursuance of God's path, the regularity of which is indicated by the traditions; the path which was pursued by the pure Companions and the excellent Imāms, trodden by the pious and pursued by the God-fearing; the adherence to which was enjoined by the counselling, truthful Imāms. That is, to believe in the Koranic expressions and verses, and in the traditions, according to the sense which God intended for them; to be silent with regard to what we do not know of their meaning; to abstain from examining that part of their interpretation which God did not obligate us to examine, nor made its science known to us; to follow the path of those entrenched in knowledge whom God commended in His

perspicuous Book, when they said: "We believe in it. All is from our Lord."[71] This is the safe path which holds no danger for its pursuer, nor solicitude, nor fear, nor evil. He who pursues it will be secure; but he who abandons it will become corrupt and have cause to regret. It is the path of the believers indicated by the Sunna, and which was pursued by the Community's Pious One. "But he who separates himself from the Apostle after the Guidance has become manifested to him, and follows any other way than that of the believers, We shall charge him with what he will have charged himself, and cause him to face Gehenna, and what a detestable outcome!"[72]

60. The censurer of this discourse must either censure belief in the Koranic expressions or he must censure that act of abstaining from their interpreting them, or both. Now if he censures belief in the Koranic expressions, these expressions were spoken by the Lord of the Worlds and by His truthful and faithful Apostle, and therefore the censurer would be denying God, the Incomparably Great. He who censures belief in them both must either believe in them both or deny them. If he believes in them, how can he censure that to which he conforms? And if he denies them, he secedes from the Islamic religion (*islām*) and declares himself quit of the faith (*īmān*). God has said: "None reject Our signs but the unbelievers."[73]

61. Now, if he censures the abstention from interpretation, he is wrong; for we know of no interpretation for these expressions; and he who has no knowledge of a thing is obliged to keep silent about it; to speak about it is forbidden to him. God has said: "Do not follow that of which you have no knowledge."[74] And He said, in mentioning the forbidden things: ". . . and the saying against God of what you do not know."[75] Now, since we do what God has made incumbent upon us, and avoid what He has forbidden, there is no reason to blame us for it. The blame is only on him who opposes this conduct and censures it.

62. And again, the censurer of this discourse condemns the Apostle of God; for the latter believed in God and in His words, but he did not interpret anything thereof, nor did he clarify their intended sense. He who condemns the Apostle

of God does not believe in Him. And he who condemns the Apostle of God is indeed the transgressor, the grievous sinner, the disgraceful and blameworthy one.

63. Furthermore, the censurer of this discourse condemns those entrenched in knowledge[76] whom God has commended, and the matter in respect of which God praised them, namely, unreserved approval and faith. Moreover, he is ridiculing all of the Ancestors. Now there is no doubt as to the transgression of him who blames all of these people; nor is there any doubt as to his heretical innovation and error.

64. Since we, ourselves, are included in the ranks of those whom God has commended, and whose deeds and words He has pronounced to be right, no harm can follow us from the censure of one afflicted with diabolical possession, a heretical innovator abandoned of God. And since we pursue our Lord's path, the path which He has seen fit for us, we shall not heed the unwillingness of him who pursues the path of Satan the accursed, the path which brings him to the midst of Hell.

If my censure comes to you from one of low character,
It is testimony in evidence of my excellent qualities![77]

65. At any rate, we have no doctrine for which we might be blamed. If we be blamed for the Koranic expressions in which we believe, no one is being blamed but Him who said them, nor are the censurers disacknowledging anyone except Him who gave utterance to them. It is He who will punish them for their unbelief and heresy. If we be blamed for our silence, silence, at least, is not a doctrine, nor can any doctrine be ascribed to one who keeps silent. If they say, " you believe in what they contain of *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism," they but lie against us and accuse us of that of which God already knows us to be guiltless. Besides, they have no way of looking into our minds. Only the tongue can express what is in the mind; and our tongues are ever declaring the rejection of *tašbīh-*,*tamṯīl-* and *taǧsīm*-anthropomorphism. They therefore have no right to set themselves up as our judges by accusing us of that which has not arisen or proceeded from us. The grievous sin falls upon the author of the lie exclusive of its victim, in the same manner as the legal punishment for calumny falls upon the calumniator,

not upon the calumniated. It suffices us as praise and justification that our opponents do not find any fault in us for which they could blame us and be confirmed, while we admit it. They only censure us with their lying. If they were capable of finding fault, there would have been no need for them to resort to lying.

66. He states that " the rejection of traditions is obligatory because they are traditions transmitted by a single traditionist " and that " the decisive rejection of *tašbīh*- and *tamṯīl*-anthropomorphism has been firmly established by rational proofs." As for the former statement, there are two ways of answering it:

67. First, by clearly showing that it is obligatory to accept these traditions for two reasons. First, the agreement of the Imāms as to their transmission, relation and publication in the *Saḥīḥ*- and *Musnad*-collections of traditions, and their registration in the other collections of tradition; also, the traditionists of the *mutqin* rank pronouncing them to be sound, and pronouncing their relators to be of the ranks of *mutqin* and *'adl*. Discarding them would therefore be in contradiction to the *iǧmā'* and in rebellion against the people of universal agreement. He should therefore not be paid any regard or attention. Secondly, the relators of these traditions are themselves the transmitters of the Law and the relators of the legal prescriptions. It is they who are entrusted as to the clear distinction between the lawful and the unlawful, and what constitutes obedience to God. If we nullify their doctrines by our interpretation, these doctrines would of necessity become refuted; then the Law will become void, and religion will disappear.

68. Second: We will not submit to him that all of them are traditions transmitted by a single traditionist. There are those among them which have been transmitted through numerous concurring ways, each confirming the other, each bearing witness in favour of the other. Although each tradition transmitted by a single traditionist cannot claim transmission by *tawātur*, yet there results from the aggregate the decisiveness and certainty of the steadfastness of its origin. This is sufficient for the constitution of *tawātur*. Thus we confirm the generosity of Ḥātim, the bravery of 'Alī, the equity of 'Umar, the religious knowledge of 'Ā'iša, and the caliphate of the first four Caliphs,

without there having been transmitted to us with regard to them as a sole tradition by *tawātur*. But since various traditions made them public, each tradition confirming the other, and no one discrediting them, *tawātur* resulted from the aggregate. So is it also in the present case.

69. As for the allusion he makes regarding the rejection of *tašbīh-* and *tağsīm*-anthropomorphism, it is merely something which the speculative theologians and the partisans of heretical innovations have invented, seeking thereby to obtain the nullification of the prophetic traditions, the rejection of the traditions of the Companions and Successors, and the deception of the ignorant and the inexperienced, in order to have them believe of them that " our purpose is merely to purify the essence of God and reject *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism." This is comparable to the practice of the Bāṭinīya in clinging to the Prophet's family, and in making an outward show of thorough inquiry, causing the common people to imagine that they wish to aid them against their enemies. But they only used the Prophet's family as a screen to cover up their efforts to nullify the Law and enable themselves to blame the Companions and the four orthodox Caliphs by accusing them of unjust treatment of the Prophet's family and of transgression against them.

70. In the same manner, the sect of speculative theologians and heretical innovators has clung to the rejection of *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism, seeking thereby to blame the people of tradition and to abolish the traditions. If not, then in what way has this anthropomorphism resulted? If it has resulted from a sharing in names and expressions, then they themselves have surely assimilated God to man, since they have predicated of Him such attributes as hearing, sight, knowledge, power, will and life, in spite of the sharing of humans in the expressions denoting these attributes. God has ninety-nine names among which there are but two, " Allāh " and " ar-Raḥmān," which could not be applied to any other than Himself; all the rest, however, can be so applied without constituting *tašbīh-* or *tağsīm*-anthropomorphism.

71. Furthermore, how do they intend to deal with the Koranic verses which have been revealed concerning the divine

attributes? Do they have any means of rejecting them? or a way of nullifying them? or will they affirm them in spite of what they claim to constitute *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism? But they already know—God willing—that there is no *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism in any of this; still, they forge lies and they are not ashamed.—May God banish them from all that is good! Now if it be that God has indeed blinded their minds so that they supposed this, it would not be too farfetched. For we have seen those who have ascribed to us the words of God and those of His Apostle, by way of blaming us for them as their authors, saying: "You say, 'The Merciful on the throne sits firm;'[78] you say, 'God spoke directly to Moses;'[79] and you say, 'God descends each night to the heaven closest to the earth.'"[80] But these are the words of God, which "Falsehood comes not to it from any side. It is a revelation from One wise and praiseworthy."[81] And they are also the words of His Apostle. They were induced by their partisanship and blindness of mind to considering them as our own words, then they blamed us for them. But he who finds fault with the Book of God and the Sunna of His Apostle is not a *muslim*; and he who attributes the words of God to any other than Himself is ignorant and stupid.

72. I once heard one of our companions say: "I have heard some people say: 'The Ḥanbalites say: "The Merciful on the throne sits firm".'"[82] He continued: "So I said to them: 'O people, fear God! You are ascribing to the Ḥanbalites that for which they are not fit, and to which they shall never attain. These are the words of God: "If men and ǧinn assembled to produce the like of this Koran, they could not produce the like of it, though the one should help the other".'"[38] But you have made them to be those of the Ḥanbalites, raising their dignity to such an extent as to make them worthy of them. Now, *tašbīh*- and *tağsīm*-anthropomorphism result only from him who makes the attributes of God accord in meaning with the attributes of created beings. But we do not believe this, nor do we follow it as our religion; on the contrary, we know that so far as God is concerned, "There is nothing anything like Him. He is the Hearing, the Seeing,"[84] and we know that

His attributes do not resemble those of created beings. All that which occurs in the mind or the imagination, God is different therefrom. He has neither a match, nor an equal, nor a similar, nor an auxiliary; "There is nothing anything like Him. He is the Hearing, the Seeing."[85]

73. As for our belief in the Koranic verses and the traditions treating of the divine attributes, it is purely a belief in the expressions themselves, the soundness of which may not be doubted, nor their veracity suspected. Their Author knows best their intended sense; so we believe in them according to the meaning intended by our Lord. Thus we combine faith, which is obligatory, with the rejection of *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism, which is prohibited. This is a more true and a more worthy doctrine than the doctrine of him who considers the Koranic verses and the traditions as *tağsīm*- and *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism, and contrives artfully to nullify and refute them by making them accord in meaning with the meaning intended by the attributes of created beings, through the badness of his private opinion and the evilness of his creed.—We seek protection by God from far-reaching error!

74. He says to us: "Speak up and tell us what appears to you to be the meaning of these expressions revealed in connection with the divine attributes!" Now this fellow was indeed hasty in feigning ignorance and blindness of mind, as though he really were not familiar with the creed of the people of the Sunna and their doctrines concerning these expressions. These doctrines are also his, since he had been brought up among the adherents to these expressions, and knew their teachings with regard to them.

75. Many a time did he himself expound the doctrine of the people of the Sunna with regard to this question, and make clear the truth with regard to it after he had retracted the present discourse; and many a time did he himself show that if anyone should ask us about the intended meaning of expressions regarding the divine attributes, our answer should be: "We have nothing to offer you by way of an addition to these expressions which would convey a meaning; nay rather their very recitation is their explanation, without any

meaning or interpretation in particular. But we do know that they have a meaning, among others, which is known by Him who uttered them. So we believe in them according to that meaning." Now, how can he, whose position is such, ask about the meaning of something, when he himself says, "I do not know it"? And how can he ask about the nature of what he himself thinks to be a heretical innovation to ask about, a transgression to discuss its interpretation, meddlesomeness and heretical exaggeration to examine? Has he not heard the story of Mālik b. Anas when he was asked with regard to the Koranic verse "The Merciful on the throne sits firm,"[88] "how 'sits firm'?"? Mālik inclined his head and was silent until the sweat of fever covered his brow; then he looked up and said: "The attribute *istawā* is not unknown, the modality of it is not rational; but belief in it is obligatory, and inquiring about it is a heretical innovation." Then he gave instructions, and the man was shown the way out.

76. As for his statement, "you have accused your adversaries of heretical innovation with regard to these principles, but made it allowable for your companions to have different views with regard to them," it is falsehood and calumny. We do not permit anyone to oppose the Sunna, no matter who he may be; and if he be one of our companions, we are more severe in our reproval of him than would be the case with another. The proof of this is that you are connected with our companions, and with our Imām.[87] Now when the present doctrines proceeded from you, we accused you of heretical innovation. Our companions abandoned you, and made lawful the shedding of your blood. Were it not for your retractation and reversion, we would certainly have been more severe with you, and held you further away from us. We do not accuse anyone of heretical innovation except him whom the Sunna has so accused; nor do we say anything on our own authority. But the Prophet has said: "Every innovation is a heretical innovation, and every heretical innovation is an error." Therefore, he who introduces innovations into the religion contrary to that which has come to us on the authority of the Prophet, differs from his Companions, deserts the religious doctrines of the Imāms and jurisprudents,

reverts to the doctrine of the speculative theologians, and urges opposition to the Sunna, is indeed guilty of having perpetrated heretical innovations. God is his reckoner and punisher; if He so wills, He will turn towards him in forgiveness; then again, if He so wills, He will cause him to go astray. And the saying of God, " I will assuredly fill Hell with ǧinn and men together," becomes necessitated, as suitable to the requirements of justice, to take effect upon him.[88] God does what he chooses.[89]

77. As for his doctrine with regard to the disputed question of the Koran, its discussions may be dealt with in two sections. The first one treats of the divine voice which he began by denying. Our answer to this denial is as follows: It has been established that Moses[90] heard the words of God from God Himself without any intermediary. Indeed, if he had heard it from a tree or a stone or an angel, then the Israelites would have been superior to him in this regard; for they had heard it from Moses, the Prophet of God, and Moses is superior to the tree and the stone. Why then was Moses given the epithet of " he who is spoken to by God "? And why did God say: " O Moses! I have chosen thee above the people with My messages and My speaking to thee "?[91] and again: " When he came to it, he was called to: ' Moses! I am thy Lord.' "[92] Now no one would say this to him except God.

78. Since this is certain, then the divine voice is that which was heard, and of which the audibility is feasible. Furthermore, reference to the divine voice has been explicitly made in the traditions which have come to us. 'Abd Allāh,[93] son of the Imām Aḥmad, has said: " I once said to my father: ' Father, the Ǧahmīya claim that God does not speak by uttering a voice.' He replied: ' They lie; they simply occupy themselves with the science of divesting God of His attributes.' Then he said: ' I heard 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī,[94] who had it on the authority of Sulaimān b. Mihrān al-A'maš, on the authority of Abū'ḍ-Ḍuhā,[95] on the authority of Masrūq,[96] on the authority of 'Abd Allāh, say: ' When God gives utterance to revelation, the people of heaven hear His voice.' " Siǧzī[97] has said: Among the relators of this tradition there is not a

single Imām who is not approved; and it has been related with a chain of transmitters going back to the Apostle of God.

79. In the tradition transmitted by 'Abd Allāh b. Anīs,[98] it is related that God will call to the people on the Day of Resurrection with a voice which will be heard by him who is far as well as by him who is near: "I am the King! I am the Requiter!" This is a well-known tradition. It is also related in the traditions that Moses, when called to by his Lord,[99] "O Moses!" answered quickly, rejoicing in the divine voice, and saying: "At Thy service! At Thy service! Where art Thou? I hear Thy voice, but I see not where Thou art." God replied: "O Moses! I am above thee, and to thy right, and to thy left, and to the front of thee and to the back of thee." Then, knowing that this attribute cannot belong except to God, he answered: "So art Thou, O my Lord!" It is also related that Moses, upon hearing thereafter the words of humans, loathed them, so great was the impression remaining in his ears at hearing the words of God.

80. His statement that "the divine voice is a burst or a crack in the air," is sheer raving, and an empty assertion, the soundness of which is not attested by any prophetic tradition: nor has he any tradition from the Companions concerning it; nor has he furnished an argument for it; nor is he on the right track with regard to it. Suppose now that he were to be told, "we do not concede that it is so," what then would his argument be? Were he to say, "this is the terminology of us speculative theologians," we would reply: "This is very far from what is right and much closer to what is wrong. For you people have cast away the Book and the Sunna, and have become aloof from God and His Apostle; you are in nowise assisted by God towards the right, nor directed towards the truth; what you say is not accepted, nor is your terminology heeded." Should he then say, "this is a definition, and definitions cannot be denied," we would answer: "Why not? Have you ever heard of an assertion which constrains the adversary's submission to the bare mention of it, without manifestation of its soundness, or furnishing evidence in its support?" Should he reply, "it is impossible to furnish evidence in support of it,"

our retort would be: " This, then, is an admission of inability to furnish its proof, and of ignorance of its soundness. If you do not know its proof, by what means then did you recognize its soundness?" He who admits ignorance of the soundness of what he says, spares others the trouble of determining it, and admits to them his ignorance and the falsity of his assertion. Now how can an assertion be referred to which cannot be known to be sound or false? How will his adversary submit to him regarding that in which he admits blindness of mind and ignorance?

81. It is strange that these speculative theologians—may God blind their faculties of understanding more so than He has already done!—claim that they are not satisfied except by decisive proofs and convincing arguments, and judge that the traditions—which they assert to be traditions transmitted by a single traditionist—do not convey certain knowledge; then they adduce arguments such as this which does not prove anything at all, neither manifestly nor by way of certainty. On the contrary, it is but sheer blindness and raving which he fabricates from his own mind and brings forth from the scum of his stomach. When he is denied it and asked to prove its soundness, he has nothing with which to prove it except, " we have already adopted as a rule that definitions cannot be denied." Now do you think that since God has blinded their eyes and the perceptive faculties of their mind, that they suppose we will accept from them their bare assertion and follow them in their blindness? Their case is simply that of a blind man who is urinating on a roof, facing the people with his pudendum, and supposing that no one sees him, since he himself is incapable of seeing his own person.

82. We say further: On the contrary, the voice is that of which the audibility is feasible. This is the sound definition attested by experience. For the voice has always been qualified by audibility; and the relation of audibility to the voice is the same as that of visibility to things visible. Moreover, the adjoining of the voice to God has been firmly established by sound prophetic tradition, and the Prophet knows more about God and is more truthful than the speculative theologians

who have neither knowledge, nor religion, nor the blessings of the present world nor of the world to come. They are simply the worst of mankind, of whom *zandaqa* is the predominant quality. God has inspired the hearts of his servants with repugnance towards them, rendering them an object of hatred to them.

83. Moreover, even if it should be established with certainty that the voice, in the case of things perceived by the senses, be the result of the clicking movements of the throat, why should it be thus in the case of the attributes of God? Their assertion is: " That which can be established with certainty with regard to ourselves, can be established in like manner with regard to that which is *absent*." And our answer is: " You are wrong for three reasons."

84. First: Your calling of God by the name of *Absent*, though the names of God and His attributes are only known by means of the Law. But you—may God remove you far from prosperity!—could not find for God a single name, among ninety-nine names, with which you could call Him, so that you had to invent a name for Him on your own authority! Besides, God has denied this attribute of Himself, for He has said: " . . . and We were not *absent*."[100]

85. Second: You have reverted to *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism, the rejection of which is your main support in refuting the Book of God and the Sunna of His Apostle; and you have caused God to follow the analogy of His servants, and be comparable to them in His attributes and names. Now this is the very essence of *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism!—May God curse you!

86. Third: This anthropomorphism is false as regards the rest of the attributes of God which you have conceded, namely, hearing, sight, knowledge and life. These attributes cannot exist in our case except in consequence of certain instruments. Thus hearing exists because of a perforation; sight, because of an iris; knowledge, because of a mind; and life exists in a body. Moreover, all of the attributes cannot exist except in a body; therefore, if you say that it is the same in the case of the Creator, you are guilty of *tağsīm*- and *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism, and have

become unbelievers. On the other hand, if you should say, " the divine attributes do not require a body," then why were they required in the present case?

87. However, that which has been firmly established by the Book and the Sunna cannot be put aside by the sheer raving of your spokesman,[101] nor shall we desert the doctrines of the Apostle of God for those of a meddlesome heretical innovator. We will not accept their doctrines[102] in matters which find no support in revealed scripture or in prophetic tradition. In our eyes, they have neither honour nor dignity. How are we to consent to the nullification of the Book and the refutation of the Sunna despite our clinging to them, our adhering to them, our holding fast to them, and the eagerness of our desire for them, in the manner of him who is persuaded that salvation consists in adhering to them, perdition in abandoning them, transgression and the lack of divine preservation in opposing them?—We beseech God to grant us that we keep steadfastly to them during our life, and after our death, until the day when we shall meet Him, so that He may recompense us for our steadfastness and place us in the company of the Prophet who announced them.

88. He argues falsely when he asserts that the following statement constitutes *tašbīh*-anthropomorphism; namely, that when God speaks, there is a sound in the heavens " similar to the sound which results from dragging a chain on smooth rocks."[103] Such an assertion constitutes an objection against the Master of Apostles, Muḥammad, the truthful and trustworthy Apostle of God, as well as an accusation of *tamṯīl*- and *taǧsīm*-anthropomorphism levelled against him. Whoever does this has deserted the orthodox faith. But the matter is not as this faithless forger of false accusations asserts it to be; he has but simply been deceived by the evilness of his purpose and the paucity of his understanding.

> " How many persons have censured a valid statement,
> Whose censure was the result of meagre understanding!"

Now the above comparison has nothing to do with the thing heard. It is simply the comparison of one hearing with another hearing; that is to say that our hearing of the sound of a chain over smooth rocks would be like our hearing of the divine

voice. This comparison is akin to the one which the Prophet made in this other tradition: "Verily, you shall see your Lord as you see the full moon, you shall not gather together in order to see Him;" that is to say that your seeing of your Lord is like your seeing of the full moon, in that the full moon is such that it can be seen by all, not by some to the exclusion of others. This now is the case of one who is about to break his fast; in order to do so, he does not need to join ranks with other fasters in order to see the full moon, as is the case in the seeing of the crescent, at which time they gather together so that he who sees it points it out to him who does not. But the seeing of the full moon is not done in this manner. For this reason, the tradition has been related with the two variants of *you will not be harmed*, from the root *ḌYM*, and *you will not gather together*, from the root *DMM*. Now the present case likewise involves a comparison of one hearing with another hearing, and not of one thing heard with another thing heard.

89. He who seeks the truth, God will direct him to that which is right, and wisdom and useful knowledge will accrue to him as a result of the words of God and those of His Apostle. But he who seeks other than the truth, God will cause him to be blind to the right direction, and the Koran and Sunna will then become, for him, false arguments by means of which he will go astray. God has said: "We send down, through the Koran, that which is healing and mercy to the believers and which only adds to the perdition of the unjust."[104] Similar to this is the sun's light which brightens the way for him who has good sight; but he whose sight is weak, and his eye diseased, will be increased in weak-sightedness by its light and caused to become blind. The poet has said:

> Knowledge, for the sensible man, is an enhancement,
> But for the weak-minded fool, a defect;
> Just as daylight to the perception of mankind
> Adds brightness, and blinds the eyesight of bats.

90. As for the details of his false arguments in speculative theology, we shall not plunge into them with him; but we know them to be false by virtue of their very source. We have already clearly shown, by what has preceded, the evilness of the

science of speculative theology by virtue of its very source, the censure of it by our Imāms, the universal agreement of the learned men that its advocates are partisans of heretical innovations and error, that they are not considered to belong to the ranks of learned men, that whoever occupies himself with it becomes a *ẓindīq* and will not prosper. Indeed, the evidence and the veracity of what the Imāms say, has become manifest in the case of the author of the present discourse. His condition had gone so far into *ẓandaqa* and heretical innovation that he was publicly declared to have innovated and erred. The shedding of his blood was made lawful, and it was necessary for him to repent and confess against himself that he was following the path of heretical innovation and error, and that he who reproved him was right in his reprobation of him. The present discourse is part of the total sum of errors for which he repented and of heretical innovations from which he reverted.

91. Now for the affirmation of the letters of the Koran. The Koran is this Arabic Book which was revealed to Muḥammad, consisting of *sūras*, verses, letters and words. Whoever reads it clearly in Arabic, will receive for each of its letters a tenfold blessing. Whoever admits this and teaches it, concedes the existence of the letters. There is no reason after this to deny the letters or to say them incoherently. Whoever denies them, will be refuted by more than one hundred verses contained in the Koran. The consensus of the Muslims will pronounce him a liar, and the Sunna of the Apostle of God, and the teachings of his Companions and Successors, will declare him an unbeliever.

92. How many verses are there in the Koran in which God says that "this is the Koran"?[105] Now the word "this" designates something actual. And how many verses as follows: "We have presented to men, in this Koran,"[106]—"We have set before men, in this Koran"?[107] How many verses does the Koran contain in which God describes the Koran as being Arabic?[108] And how many verses wherein He defied them to produce the like of this Koran or a single *sūra* like it? How many times are verses, *sūras* and words ascribed to the Koran? Indeed, God has threatened that He would cast into hell-fire[109] him who says, "this is the word of a mortal." And He has

refuted him who says that it is poetry, by saying: "We have not taught him poetry, nor would it beseem him. It is only a Reminder and a clear Koran."[110]

93. It is a known fact that poetry consists only of measured speech; therefore it is not permissible to ascribe it except to measured speech, having letters and words. Now God has denied of the Koran its being poetry and declared it to be a "recitation." Examples similar to this one are numerous. What then is the purpose of his denying the letters after this, despite the fact that the Prophet did speak of the expression "letters" in his traditions? This expression has also been frequently transmitted on the authority of his Companions, and on the authority of those who succeeded them. People are in general agreement as to the counting of the letters of the Koran, its verses, and its words; they are generally agreed that he who denies a single letter of the Koran which has been agreed upon is an unbeliever. Persistence in denying it after this is nothing but stubborn opposition.

94. As for his statement, "God! Fear God! with regard to such boldness! keep to the path which was followed by the pious Ancestors, and abstain from plunging into a discussion of God by making use of what is neither provided for by the Law nor in conformity with reason"—we answer it as follows: "We have already been doing this—through God's grace and kindness—without the help of his admonition; and we have been accepting what our Ancestors have followed without the help of his counsel. Also, we have abandoned those who have abandoned them, and refuted those who have opposed them; and along with this, we have rejected his doctrine and made a clear exposition of his scandal. But as for Ibn 'Aqīl himself, he is, by virtue of this statement, ordering the good, but forgetting himself, and prohibiting evil, but turning to that which he has prohibited. Now this practice is held in abhorrence by God; He has said: "It is very abhorrent to God that you should say that which you do not do."[111] God has also reproached the Jews by saying: "Will you enjoin men to right conduct and forget yourselves?"[112]

95. A tradition was related to us that the Prophet said:

" On the Day of Resurrection, a man will be brought and thrown into the fire, and the intestines of his belly will spill forth, and he will revolve therein as the donkey revolves around his mill-stones; then someone who was acquainted with him on earth will look upon him from above, and say: ' O So-and-so! What is the meaning of this? It is with you we were, learning from you!' And he will reply: ' Indeed, I used to enjoin you to do something, while I myself avoided it; and admonish you to abandon something, while I myself committed it';"—or words according to the letter of the tradition.

96. God has revealed the statement of Šu'aib:[113] " I do not wish that in opposition to you I should betake myself to that which I forbid you."[114] The poets have also had their say against this practice, among which that of Abū'l-Aswad:[115]

O you who would teach others,
Why not address that teaching to yourself?
Think you of fecundating our minds with orthodoxy
While you are in lack of it yourself?
Prohibit not a bad habit, then perpetrate one like it,
A great disgrace will befall you when you do.
With your own soul begin and restrain it from its error;
Then will you become wise, when your own soul abstains.
Then will it be good for you to preach and your word
Will be followed, and your teaching will be of use.

And Abū'l-'Atāhiya[116] said:

O you who admonish people, you have become accused,
Since you blame them for things you yourself perpetrate.
Like him who is clothed to cover his nudity, while his pudendum
Remains visible to people, and he does not cover it.
The greatest of sins, after associationism, you know it to be,
In each soul, its blindness to its own vices—
Its knowledge of the sins of people which it readily sees issuing
From them, but sees not the vice within itself enclosed.

And he has also said:

You so describe virtue that you seem to possess it,
While the stench of sins diffuses from your clothes!

97. Therefore, this discourse which he has called " a good counsel " is nothing but an injunction to plunge, in ignorance, into a discussion of God, a rejection of the traditions of the Prophet, and a prohibition against being satisfied with the

teachings of the Ancestors. Though he has returned to God in penitence for it and renounced it, its grievous sin does not cease to unite itself to him; so also becomes attached to him the grievous sin of him who has gone astray because of it and become deceived by his having written it. For he who institutes an evil rule of conduct, bears its burden as well as the burden of him who acts according to it, until the Day of Resurrection.[117]

98. But it is my hope that this treatise will be the most important factor in the procurement of blessings upon him and benefits to him, considering that it will keep people from falling into error by following his teachings. Thus will be separated from him the grievous sin resulting from the fact that contact with his teachings was exposing people to the danger of falling into error by means of them. I beseech God to forgive us and to forgive him, for he did indeed retract these doctrines. Also, he has said much, and has written excellent books, on the subject of orthodoxy. If only he had erased this heretical innovation from his book, he would have been relieved of the grievous sin attached to it and delivered others from being calumniated by it. But God does as He pleases. Still, we have given an account on his authority regarding its nullification and a clear exposition of its nature, in order that the deception of those who have been deceived by it may cease to exist.

99. We intercede with God to forgive him and us, and to accept his repentance and that of all penitents. We beseech Him to keep us steadfast in the path of His religion and the Sunna of His Prophet, to guide us rightly that we may follow our pious Ancestors as our guides and adhere to their course, and to place us in their company on the Day of Resurrection, " with the Prophets, the Just, the Witnesses and the Saints upon whom God has bestowed favour,"[118] by virtue of His mercy and generosity.

100. I bid you, my brothers—may God guide you rightly!—to adhere to the Book of your Lord and to the Sunna of your Prophet, to hold fast thereto, and to avoid all innovations. For every innovation is a heretical innovation, and every heretical innovation is an error. Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by the discourse of a person who will turn you away from the

orthodox path which you have been following, no matter who he may be. For he is incapable of adding anything to that which has been said by your Prophet, or by his worthy Companions or by your Imām—Imām of the Sunna by universal agreement—Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, or by the Imāms who were his contemporaries or his predecessors. You have already heard, and we have already mentioned to you, some of the doctrines which they followed and some of their counsels; do not deviate therefrom through the doctrine of someone, though you may think him to be a great Imām. For it has been related that Mu'āḏ b. Ǧabal[119] said: " [I warn you against] the deviation of the sage."[120] 'Umar has said: " Three things are detrimental to religion: the slip of a learned man, the disputation of a hypocrite who uses the Koran, and Imāms who cause others to go astray." It is related that the Prophet said: " I fear for my community three things: I fear for them the slip of a learned man, the judgment of a despot, and a pursued heresy." And again he said: " I have left with you two things; so long as you cling to them, you will never err: the Book of God and the Sunna of His Apostle."

101. God has given you a lesson in this man, whom you believed to possess a wealth of religious knowledge, by showing you how he has committed his foul sin; so do not allow yourselves to be deceived by anyone. Moreover, take care not to enter into discussions treating of innovated questions which have not been the subject of some past tradition, or treated by an approved Imām; for they are innovated heresies; and your Prophet has warned you against innovations, by saying: " Beware of innovated things, for every innovation is a heretical innovation and every heretical innovation is an error." And again: " The most evil of things are the innovated ones." Such are, for instance, the question of diacritical points and vocalization; the question of the eternal punishment of the partisans of heretical innovation in hell-fire; and other innovations and stupidities such as these, concerning which there is no tradition so that it may be followed, nor a statement from an approved Imām so that it may be hearkened to. Plunging into a discussion of it is a dishonour; whereas silence about it is an honour. He

who speaks about it is a heretic, plunging into heretical innovation, and guilty of the most evil of things, by virtue of the testimony of established tradition. And God will be asking him who has discussed it to give an account of his discussion, and He will demand of him his argument and his evidence.

102. Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh at-Tustarī[121] said: "No one has ever innovated a thing in matters of religious knowledge, but that he is questioned about it on the Day of Resurrection; should he conform to the Sunna, well and good; otherwise, he shall perish." But he who holds his tongue from these stupidities shall not be questioned about them; and he has an excellent example to follow in the Apostle of God, his Companions and their Successors. We are more learned in the traditions than you are, and more tenacious in our search for them; and we have contented ourselves with following the path of our Ancestors and avoiding the innovations which came after them. Will you not therefore content yourselves with this? Is not that which was fit for them, fit for us? Have we not in the Sunna ample scope to avoid heretical innovation?

103. He who does not find fit what proved to be fit for the Prophet, for the Ancestors and the Imāms, may God not make ample his means of subsistence! He who is not contented with what they were contented with, nor pleased with what they were pleased with, nor follows their path, but weakens in spirit and censures them, belongs to the faction of Satan: "he only invites his party that they may be among the inmates of the Blaze."[122] He who is not contented with the straight path, will enter upon the path of Hell. He who travels a path other than that of his Ancestors, will be brought thereby to his perdition. He who deviates from the Sunna is deviating from the path which leads to Paradise.

104. Therefore, fear God, and fear for your souls, for the matter is a difficult one. There is nothing outside of Paradise but hell-fire; there is nothing outside of the truth but error; and there is nothing outside of the Sunna but heretical innovation. Now you know that every innovation is a heresy; therefore, do not discuss an innovation.—Peace be with you, and the mercy and blessings of God upon you! May God keep

us steadfast on the path of the Sunna, and grant us refuge from heretical innovations, and the cause of temptation, by virtue of His mercy and beneficence.

105. Guard yourselves—may God be merciful to you—from obstinate dispute with regard to the Koran, and from inquiry concerning matters which God did not impose upon you as a task, and which serve no practical purpose. For it is related that the Prophet said: "Obstinate dispute with regard to the Koran is unbelief." The Ancestors have prohibited disputing about God, His attributes and His names. We have been prohibited to examine God mentally. Mālik has said: "Discussion concerning religious matters, I hate; and the inhabitants of our town have not ceased to hate it. I do not approve of discussion except with regard to that which serves a practical purpose. But as for discussion concerning religious matters and God, silence is more preferable to me; because I have seen the people of our town prohibiting the discussion of religious matters, except that which serves a practical purpose." Now what Mālik said has been followed by the community of learned men and jurisprudents—the people of tradition and *fatwās*, both in ancient and in modern times. Only the partisans of heretical innovation have opposed this; but as for the Community, it follows what Mālik said.

106. If you have a desire for discussion, and the extension of the range of your knowledge, inquire into *fiqh*, its problems and its regulations; inheritance *ab intestat* and its regulations; vested inheritance; the division of the deceased's estate; the problems of acknowledgment; guardianship, which has many facets; then wills and legacies, and their regulations. After that, the problems concerned with algebra, calculus, and the mensuration of land. In all of this, you have ample scope to forego plunging into that from which you have been prohibited —matters which your Ancestors did not discuss, which your Imām has disapproved, which will not bring you to good, and in which you cannot help but innovate a heresy in which your Imām would be Satan. God will hate you for it; and your Prophet will declare himself free from you on account of it; and your brothers, people of the Sunna, will abandon you for

your having abandoned the Sunna of your Prophet; and you will be kept back from the Pool of your Prophet, pursuant to the tradition wherein it is related that on the Day of Resurrection, people will come to the Pool, and come close to the Prophet. The Prophet has said; " I will say then, ' O my Companions! O my Companions!' And I will be told: ' You do not know what they innovated after you had left them!' Therefore, I will say to them, ' May God alienate you from good, and curse you!' "—God grant us and you protection from this!

107. But if you adhere to the Sunna of your Prophet, accept his admonition, follow the path of your Ancestors, and abstain from busying yourselves with that which does not concern you, you may be assured of your safety, and rejoice at the annunciation of excellence, dignity, and eternal dwelling in the abode of everlastingness " with the Prophets, the Just, the Witnesses and the Saints upon whom God has bestowed favour; good company are these!"[123]—God grant us and you the right direction towards what pleases Him, by virtue of His mercy. Amen.

Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds. The blessings of God and His salutations on our Master Muḥammad, our Prophet Muḥammad, the Prophet of prosperity, the leader to prosperity, and the Apostle of mercy.

[1] Cf. Sūra XLII, 24/25.

[2] (432–510/1040–1116), C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, I, 398, *Suppl.*, I, 687; see biography in Ibn Raǧab, *Ḏail 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, I, 143–154.

[3] 'Abd al-Ḫāliq b. Abī Mūsā al-Hāšimī (411–470/1020–1077), *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 687; see biography in *Ḏail*, I, 20–33.

[4] For historical accounts of Ibn 'Aqīl's case, see Ignaz Goldziher, *Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen*, in *ZDMG*, lvii (1908), 17–21, and George Makdisi, *L'affaire d'Ibn 'Aqīl*.

[5] (516–607/1122–1210), Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Šaḏarat*, V, 26; Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil*, IX, 305 (Cairo ed.), *anno* 607. (Ibn Kaṯīr, *Bidāya*, XIII, 61, line 14, gives details on his age erroneously, due apparently to copyist's error; instead of 97 years, read 90 years and seven months, as in *Šaḏarat*.) He went to Damascus towards the end of his life, with Ḥanbal b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mukabbir (510–604/1116–1207). For the latter, see *Kāmil*, IX, 298 (Cairo ed.), *anno* 604, *Bidāya*, XIII, 50 (cf. *ibid.*, 61, line 14, where the date of death is erroneously given as 603), and *Šaḏarat*, V, 12. Both were well-known traditionists.

[6] I.e., A.D. 1206.

[7] (442–535/1050–1140), biography in *Ḏail*, I, 230–237; student in fiqh of Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā (d. 458/1065) and Ibn al-Bannā' al-Ḥanbalī (d. 471/1078).

[8] I.e., A.D. 1072.

[9] On the passage which is omitted here by Ibn Qudāma—which treats of a doctrine formerly held by Ibn 'Aqīl, but more especially, of Ibn 'Aqīl's veneration for al-Ḥallāǧ (d. 310/922)—cf. G. Makdisi, *L'affaire d'Ibn 'Aqīl*, 126.

[10] I.e., the Caliph; at that time, al-Qā'im.

[11] Sūra V, 96/95. In Ibn al-Ǧauzī, *Muntaẓam* and in *Ḏail*, the text of the retractation ends at this point.

[12] *Muntaẓam* and *Ḏail* fail to give the list of witnesses.

[13] Abū'l-Qāsim (d. 474/1081), short biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, VIII, 333. Cf. *Diary*, index.

[14] *Ibid.*, index.

[15] Abū Muḥammad, elder son of Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf (d. 460/1067); cf. *ibid.*, index, for both father and son.

[16] Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Ǧarada (d. 476/1083); cf. *ibid.*, index.

[17] Abū'l-Ḥasan, younger son of Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf; cf. *ibid.*, index.

[18] Cf. note 7 above. Sam'ānī cites this Ḥanbalite doctor, known as "Qāḍī'l-Māristān," as his sole transmitter of traditions on the authority of Šarīf Abū Ga'far (n. 3 above); see *Ḏail*, I, 21.

[19] Cf. the work attributed to him in *Ḏail*, I, 189, *Nafy at-tašbīh*.

[20] *Ibid.*, *Mas'ala fī'l-ḥarf wa's-saut*; on this theological question, see Louis Massignon, *Passion*, index under "ḥoroûf," esp. 592ff.

[21] Cf. *Ḏail*, *loc. cit.*, *al-Intiṣār li-Ahl al-Ḥadīt*.

[22] Ibn Qudāma makes use of three terms to designate anthropomorphism: *tamṯīl*, *tašbīh* and *taǧsīm*. On these terms, see the article "tashbih" in *EI*, by R. Strothmann.

[23] (d. 179/795), see *EI*, art. by J. Schacht.

[24] (88/107–157/774), *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 308–9.

[25] (d. 161/177); biographical notice in al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baǧdādī, *Tārīḫ Baǧdād*, IX, 151–174.

[26] (107–198/725–813); biographical notice, *ibid.*, 174–184.

[27] Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 397.

[28] (368–463/978–1071), *GAL*, I, 367–8, *Suppl.*, I, 628–9.

[29] See *GAL*, I, 368, *Suppl.*, I, 629: *Ǧāmi bayān al-'ilm* . . ., a copy of which is in the Ẓāhiriya Library in Damascus.

[30] Aš-Šaibānī (131–5–189/748–52–904), *GAL*, I, 171–2, *Suppl.*, I, 288–291.

[31] (ca. 80–150/699–767), see *EI*², art. by J. Schacht.

[32] (164–241/780–855), *GAL*, I, 181, *Suppl.*, I, 309; see also *EI*², art. by Henri Laoust.

[33] Sūra XLII, 9/11.
[34] Abū Sufyān Waki' b. al-Ǧarrāḥ ar-Ru'āsī (128–9—197–8/745–6—812–13); biographical notice in *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, XIII, 466–481.
[35] Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā' b. 'Adī b. aṣ-Ṣalt b. Bisṭām (d. 211–12/826–27); biographical notice in *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, VIII, 455–6.
[36] Sulaimān b. Mihrān al-A'maš (60—148/679—765); biographical notice in *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, IX, 3–13.
[37] Sufyān aṯ-Ṯauri, n. 25 above.
[38] See Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 519 (cap. x, no. 2); cited in Lane, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* SLL See also Ibn Taimīya, *Minhāǧ as-sunna*, I, 15 (line 11 from bottom), used in connection with *kaḏb* and *nifāq*.
[39] See *EI*, art. by A. J. Wensinck.
[40] Abū'l-Mu'tamir Sulaimān b. Ṭurḫān at-Taimī (ca. 46—143/666—760); Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 113b–114a; *Šaḏarāt*, I, 212.
[41] (150—204/767—820), *GAL*, I, 178, *Suppl.*, I, 303.
[42] (113—182/731—798); see art. in *EI*², by J. Schacht.
[43] Cf. Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Isḥāq b. 'Abd al-Ǧabbār al-Māliki, in *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, IV, 35; no dates given, but apparently a contemporary of Abū Ḥafṣ b. Šāhīn (297–385/909–995, *GAL*, I, 165, *Suppl.*, I, 276), both of whom transmitted traditions of Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl, see *ibid.*, and III, 115.
[44] I.e., the Mālikites.
[45] Sūra IX, 101/100.
[46] Sūra XLVIII, 29; "... are violent against unbelievers, compassionate amongst themselves."
[47] Small measures for grain; i.e., " were one of you to give alms the size of Mount Uḥud in gold, in the service of God, your reward for doing so would still not be equal to the reward which God gives to a Companion of the Prophet for giving alms the capacity of a *mudd*, or of a *naṣīf*, in grain—so highly are they regarded by God."
[48] (d. 13/634); see *EI*², art. by W. Montgomery Watt.
[49] (d. 23/644); see *EI*, art. by G. Levi della Vida.
[50] (d. 32–3/652–3); see *EI*, art. by A. J. Wensinck.
[51] (21—110/642—728); see anon. art. in *EI*.
[52] Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥuḏaifa b. al-Yamān al-'Absī (d. 36/656); see *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, I, 161–3; *Kāmil*, III, 147 (Cairo ed.), *anno* 36; *Šaḏarāt*, I, 44, where the following work is attributed to him: *as-Sirr al-maknūn fī tamyīz al-munāfiqīn*.
[53] 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (d. 101/719), eighth Umaiyād Caliph (reign: 99–101/717–719); biographical notice in *Šaḏarāt*, I, 119–121.
[54] Sūra XLVIII, 29.
[55] Abū 'Alī (d. ·٥٤/819), disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa; biographical notice in Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 496b.
[56] Abū'l-Huḏail Zufar b. al-Huḏail b. Qais (d. 158/774), disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa; biographical notice in *Šaḏarāt*, I, 243.
[57] Sūra IV, 115.
[58] On the theological question of *taklīf mā lā yuṭāq*, see Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Ḥallāǧ*, 627.
[59] Sūra II, 286.
[60] Sūra XVI, 45/43, and XXI, 7.
[61] Sūra III, 5/7.
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] Sūra III, 6/8.
[65] Sūra V, 71/67.
[66] Sūra VII, 31/33.
[67] Sūra II, 130/136.
[68] Sūra XXXVIII, 86.

[69] Cf. Sūra LXXX, 31.

[70] The word *istawā*, which is mentioned twelve times in the Koran, is in fact mentioned seven times when accompanied by *'alā 'l-'arš*, as follows: Sūra VII, 52/54; X, 3; XIII, 2; XX, 4/5; XXV, 60/59; XXXII, 3/4; LVII, 4.

[71] Sūra III, 5/7.

[72] Sūra IV, 115.

[73] Sūra XXIX, 46/47.

[74] Sūra XVII, 38/36.

[75] Sūra VII, 31/33; for a complete quotation of the verse see n. 66 above.

[76] Cf. Sūra III, 5/7.

[77] A famous verse of the poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965); cf. Ṯa'ālibī, *Yatīmat ad-dahr*, I, 86.

[78] Sūra XX, 4/5.

[79] Sūra IV, 162/164.

[80] A well-known tradition; see Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 548.

[81] Sūra XLI, 42.

[82] Sūra XX, 4/5.

[83] Sūra XVII, 90/88.

[84] Sūra XLII, 9/11.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] Sūra XX, 4/5.

[87] I.e., the head of the Ḥanbalite school, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

[88] See Lane, *Lexicon*, *s.v. ḥqq*.

[89] Cf. Sūra XI, 109/107, and LXXXV, 16.

[90] See art. "Mūsā" in *EI*, by B. Heller.

[91] Sūra VII, 141/144.

[92] Sūra XX, 11, 12.

[93] Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal (213–290/828–903), *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 310.

[94] (d. 195/810); a notice in *Šaḏarāt*, I, 343.

[95] Cf. Abū'ḍ-Ḍuhā Muslim b. Ṣubaiḥ, in Dūlābī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa'l-asmā'*, II, 15–16; the only one mentioned under this *kunya*.

[96] Abū 'Ā'iša Masrūq b. al-Aǧda' b. Mālik al-Hamaḏānī (d. 63/682); biographical notice in *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, XIII, 232–235.

[97] Several mentioned under this vocable in Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 291 a, b.

[98] Al-Ǧuhanī (d. 54/673); notice in *Kāmil*, III, 247 (Cairo ed.), *anno* 54; *Šaḏarāt*, I, 60.

[99] Cf. Sūra LXXIX, 16.

[100] Sūra VII, 6/7.

[101] I.e., Ibn 'Aqīl. Notice the play on the word *mutakallim*: spokesman, which also means: speculative theologian.

[102] Notice how the author shifts from the first to the third person, and from the singular to the plural. He alternately addresses, or refers to, Ibn 'Aqīl and the speculative theologians.

[103] Cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan* (1280), II, 180 (Kitāb as-Sunna, ch. 20: *Bāb fī'l-Qur'ān*): "iḏā takallama [i.e. Allāh] bi'l-waḥyi sami'a ahlu 's-samā'i li's-samā'i ṣalṣalatan ka-ǧarri 's-silsilati 'alā'ṣ-ṣafā . . ."; cf. same paragraph of the Arabic text.

[104] Sūra XVII, 84/82.

[105] Or: "this Koran"; sixteen times. Cf. 'Abd al-Bāqī, *al-Mu'ǧam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qur'ān al-karīm*, *s.v.*

[106] Twice: Sūra XVII, 43/41, and XVIII, 52/54.

[107] Twice: Sūra XXX, 58, and XXXIX, 28/27.

[108] Eleven times; cf. 'Abd al-Bāqī, *op. cit.*, *s.v. 'arabī*.

[109] Cf. Sūra LXXIV, 25 and 26.

[110] Sūra XXXVI, 69.

[111] Sūra LXI, 2/3.
[112] Sūra II, 41/44.
[113] See *EI*, art. by F. Buhl.
[114] Sūra XI, 90/88.
[115] Ad-Du'alī (d. 69/688), see *EI*², art. by J. W. Fück.
[116] (130–210/748–825), see *EI*², art. by A. Guillaume.
[117] Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 357; and Buḫārī, ch. 96, no. 15 (ed. Kreyl-Juynboll, IV, 432) and the reference made to Sūra XVI, 27/25: " . . . and the burden of those whom they, in their ignorance, misled . . ."
[118] Sūra IV, 71/69.
[119] (d. 18/639), Yāqūt, *Mu'ǧam al-Buldān*, VI, 719.
[120] See the lengthy tradition in Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, (ed. 1280), II, 169 (Kitab as-Sunna, ch. 5: *Bāb fī luzūm as-Sunna*), the first part of which follows: " I warn you against *the deviation of the sage*; for Satan may give utterance to error through the mouth of a sage, and a hypocrite may give utterance to truth . . ."
[121] (203–283/808–896), see *EI*, art. by L. Massignon.
[122] Sūra XXXV, 6.
[123] Sūra IV, 71/69.

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Ṣaḥīḥ: 26.
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-Šaibānī: (See Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan).
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Zindiq(s): 1, 2, 5, 12, 13, 37 (See also: heretic).
Zufar b. al-Huḍail: (See Abū 'l-Huḍail Zufar b. al-Huḍail b. Qais).

Addenda et Corrigenda

paragraph	line	instead of	read:
2	1	فصيحة	فَصيحة
8	10	إدام	أدام
16	penult	نُلتفت	يُلتفت
35	1	كفيتم	كُفيتم
65	last line	احماجوا	احتاجوا
66	1	الإخبار	الأخبار
66	1	أحمار	أخبار
67	1	قبول	قَبول
96	8	نُنْهِ	تَنْهَ
96	8	وَتَأْتِي	وَتَأْتِيَ

كتاب الانتصار للسنّة (لابن عقيل) ٨ ،
كتاب العلم (لأبي عمر بن عبد البرّ)
مالك (انظر: مالك بن أنس)
مالك بن أنس ١١ ، ١٦ ، ٤٤ ، ٦٤ ؛ ٦٥ ،
محمّد بن أحمد بن الحسن ٦ ،
محمّد بن الحسن (صاحب أبي حنيفة) ١١ ،
محمّد بن عبد الباقي بن محمّد بن عبدالله (انظر: أبو بكر... البزّاز)
محمّد بن عبد الرزّاق بن أحمد بن السنّيّ ٦ ،
مسجد (ابن قدامة - بدمشق) ٤ ،
مسجد الشريف أبي جعفر (ببغداد) ٤ ، ٧ ،
مسروق ٤٧ ،
معاذ بن جبل ٦١ ،
معمر بن راشد ١١ ،
موسى (النبيّ) ٤٦ ، ٤٧ ،
نفي تأويل الصفات والردّ على متأوّلها (جزء ، لابن عقيل) ٧-٨ ،
نهر مُعَلّى (ببغداد) ٤ ،
وكيع ١٢ ،

الحرف والصوت (جزء مفرد ، لابن عقيل) ٨ ،
الحسن البصريّ ٢١ ،
الحسن بن زياد اللؤلؤيّ ٢٣ ،
الحسن بن عبد الملك بن محمّد بن يوسف ٦ ،
دمشق ٤ ،
زفر بن الهذيل ٢٣ ،
زكريّاء بن عدي ١٢ ،
السجزيّ ٤٧ ،
سفيان (انظر : سفيان الثوريّ)
سفيان الثوريّ ١١ ، ١٣ ، ١٥ ،
سفيان بن عيينة ١١ ،
سليمان (التيميّ) ١٥ ،
سليمان بن مهران الأعمش (انظر : الأعمش)
سهل بن عبد الله التستريّ ٦٣ ،
الشافعيّ (الإمام) ١٧ ،
عبدالله (انظر : عبدالله بن أنيس)
عبدالله ابن الإمام أحمد (بن حنبل) ٤٦ ،
عبدالله بن أنيس ٤٧ ،
عبدالله بن رضوان ٦ ،
عبد الرحمن بن محمّد المحاربيّ ٤٧ ،
عليّ بن عبد الملك بن محمّد بن يوسف ٦ ،
عمر (الخليفة) ٢٠ ،
عمر بن عبد العزيز ٢٢ ،

فهرست الأعلام والأمكنة والكتب

ابن عقيل ١، ٣، ٤، ٥، ١٣، ١٨، ٢٤، ٢٧، ٢٨،
ابن مسعود ٢٠، ٢١،
أبو الأسود ٥٨،
أبو بكر الصديق ٢٠، ٣٣،
أبو بكر محمّد بن عبد الباقي بن محمّد البزّاز ٤، ٧،
أبو جعفر (الشريف) ٣، ٤،
أبو حفص عمر بن محمّد بن طبرزد البغداديّ ٤،
أبو حنيفة ١١، ٢٣ - ٢٤،
أبو الخطّاب محفوظ بن أحمد الكلوذانيّ ٣،
أبو الضحى ٤٧،
أبو عبد الله (انظر: أبو عبد الله أحمد...)
أبو عبد الله أحمد بن محمّد بن حنبل ١١، ١٢، ١٦، ١٧، ٢٢، ٦١،
أبو العتاهية ٥٨،
أبو عمر بن عبد البرّ ١١، ١٧،
أبو الوفاء بن عقيل (انظر: ابن عقيل)
أبو يوسف (صاحب أبي حنيفة) ١٧، ٢٣،
أحمد (انظر: أبو عبد الله أحمد...)
أحمد بن إسحاق المالكيّ ١٧،
الأعمش ١٣، ٤٧،
إمام الحرمين مالك (انظر: مالك بن أنس)
الأوزاعيّ ١١، ١٦، ٢٣،
حذيفة بن اليمان ٢٢،

101 : 1. Ms. ومن يكتب ; marginal note : لعلّه ومركب.

103 : 1. Ms. واتمه ; marginal note : لعلّه وايمته — 2. Ms. وكل واخد .

105 : 1. Ms. يكلغم .

106 : 1. The phrase عن الخوض فيه repeated between سعة and عمّا.

107 : 1. Explicit Ms. سوّده الفقير إلى القدير عبدالرحمن بن عثمان بن راشد بن عثمان آل جلاجل السنّيّ النجديّ الدرعيّ اغفر له ولوالديه ومشايخه وإخوانه وأقاربه آمين سنة بلغ غرّة رمضان ١٢٠٤ . — Marginal note: تصحيحًا على الأصل والحمد لله

84: 1. Written above له احكيتم : اختلقتم (apparently by way of commentary).

87: 1. Marginal note : في الاصل بجردها . — 2. Ms. متكلمتكم . — 3. Ms. وعظنا .

88: 1. Ms. السلسة .

91: 1. Written without diacritical points.

94: 1. Ms. بغيته . — 2. Marginal note: في الأصل هذا .

95: 1. Ms. معكم .

96: 1. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, op. cit., I, 196: وأران. — 2. Ibid., نعيًا . — 3. Ibid., 195: ينفع إن ; 196: يقبل ما تقول . — 4. Ibid., 196: بالعلم . — 5. Iṣbahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī, III, 142, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, op. cit., I, 194; Ms. كنت . — 6. Iṣbahānī, op. cit., III, 142: كالملبس . — 7. Ibid., فأعظم الإثم . — 8. Ibid., نعله . — 9. Ibid.; omitted in Ms. — 10. Ibid.: تبعر . — 11. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, op. cit., I, 194; Ms. الخطا ; marginal note : لعلّه الخطايا .

97: 1. Ms. الذي .

99: 1. Ms. تسمع .

100: 1. Marginal note : عليه وسلم والغض صح .

40: 1. cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op. cit., II, 95.

41: 1. Ms. adds : صلّى الله عليه وسلّم .

43: 1. Ms. امرتهم . — 2. Ms. ونهيتهم . — 3. Ms. الاجتهاد .

44: 1. Ms. الصبيين .

45: 1. Ms. يكلف ; marginal note : لعلّه تكليف .

47: 1. Ms. ولا نظر فيه .

48: 1. Ms. وفساده .

55: 1. Ms. ويمكن sic. — 2. Ms. والتكليف .

56: 1. Ms. لهم بما .

58: 1. Ms. فنظارو ويحكم ; marginal note : لعلّه فتظارف وتحكم .

68: 1. Ms. بثبوب .

70: 1. Ms. وتسعين ; marginal note : صوابه تسعون .

72: 1. Ms. ولو اجتمعت .

74: 1. Ms. قوله قد تربا ; marginal note : لعلّه ق (the remainder of the note was cut off by the binder's scissors).

75: 1. Ms. تفسر بنسه .

76: 1. Ms. قولكم . — 2. Ms. فان .

80: 1. Ms. يعرف ; possibly : يُعرَف .

81: 1. Ms. وتتابعهم .

82: 1. Marginal note : يقول في الأصل .

Notes to the Arabic text

1: 1. *Incipit Ms.* الحمد لله ربّ العالمين قال الشيخ الإمام الأوحد الصدر الكبير موفّق الدين شيخ الإسلام ناصر السنّة قامع البدعة إمام العلماء وسيّد ورثة الأنبياء أبو محمّد عبدالله بن أحمد بن محمّد بن قدامة المقدسيّ الحنبليّ رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه آمين.

2: 1. *Ms.* يحمل .

3: 1. *Ms.* وأمثالها .

6: 1. *Ms.* مخالف .

8: 1. *Ms.* والتكثير .

9: 1. *Ms.* وثمانين ; *cf. paragraph 7.*

12: 1. *Ms.* الانتصاف .

17: 1. *Ms.* الصفات ; *cf. Ibn Taimiya, Majmū'at ar-rasā'il al-kubrā, I, 442, line 12.* — 2. *Ms.* ولم يناظر كما لم يناظر . — 3. *cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Jāmi' bayān al-ilm, II, 97.*

24: 1. *Ms.* فيرون . — 2. *Ms.* اعني ما لكا *(to explain the accusative).*

26: 1. *Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op. cit., II, 96:* عند مالك وأصحابنا . — 2. *Ms.* يقبل لهم ; *cf. ibid.* — 3. *Ms.* عادى ; *cf. ibid.*

27: 1. *Ms.* عليهم . — 2. *Ms.* عيوبهم .

28: 1. *Ms.* وخبر من لهم .

38: 1. *Ms.* ولهم . — 2. *Ms.* ولد .

بُعدًا وسُحقًا ! — أعاذنا الله وإيّاكم من ذلك .

107 ولكن إن لزمتم سنّة نبيّكم صلّيتم وقبلتم وصيّته وسلكتم طريق سلفكم وتركتم الفضول فكونوا على يقين من السلامة وأبشروا بالفضل والكرامة والخلود في دار المقامة ﴿مَعَ ٱلَّذِينَ أَنْعَمَ ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ ٱلنَّبِيِّينَ وَٱلصِّدِّيقِينَ وَٱلشُّهَدَاءِ وَٱلصَّالِحِينَ وَحَسُنَ أُولَٰئِكَ رَفِيقًا﴾ . — وفّقنا الله تع وإيّاكم لما يرضيه برحمته آمين . والحمد لله ربّ العالمين وصلّى الله على سيّدنا محمّد ونبيّنا محمّد نبيّ الخير وقائد الخير ورسول الرحمة وسلّم .

الدين إلّا ما تحته عمل . والذي قاله مالك رحمه تحّ عليه جماعة العلماء والفقهاء قديمًا وحديثًا من أهل الحديث والفتوى . وإنّما خالف ذلك أهل البدع . فأمّا الجماعة فعلى ما قال مالك .

106 فإذا أردتم الكلام والتوسّع في العلم فابحثوا في الفقه مسائله وأحكامه والفرائض ومسائلها والمناسخات وقسم التركات ومسائل الإقرار والولاء ودوره وجوه ، ثمّ الوصايا ومسائلها ، ثمّ المسائل التي تعمل بالجبر والمقابلة والحساب والمساحة . فلكم في هذا سعة عمّا قد نُهيتم عن الخوض فيه ممّا لم يتكلّم فيه سلفكم وكرهه إمامكم ولا يفضي بكم إلى خير ولا تخلوا فيه من إحداث بدعة ، إمامكم فيها إبليس . يمقتكم الله بها ويتبرّأ منكم نبيّكم صلّعم من أجلها ويفارقكم إخوانكم من أهل السنّة لمفارقتكم سنّة نبيّكم — عليه أفضل الصلاة والسلام . وتُردّون عن حوض نبيّكم صلّعم ، كما قد جاء أنّه يأتي يوم القيامة . قوم إلى الحوض فيختلجون دون النبيّ صلّعم ، قال : فأقول : أصحابي ! أصحابي ! فيُقال : إنّك لا تدري ما أحدثوا بعدك ! فأقول:

انحرف عن طريق الجنّة .

104 فاتّقوا اللّه تع وخافوا على أنفسكم فإنّ الأمر صعب. وما بعد الجنّة إلّا النار وما بعد الحقّ إلّا الضلال ولا بعد السنّة إلّا البدعة. وقد علمتم أنّ كلّ محدثة بدعة فلا تتكلّموا في محدثة. — والسلام عليكم ورحمة اللّه وبركاته. ثبّتنا اللّه على السنّة وأعاذنا من البدع والفتنة برحمته وطَوله.

105 واتّقوا — رحمكم اللّه — المراء في القرآن والبحث عن أمور لم يكلّفكم اللّه تع إيّاها ولا عمل فيها. فقد رُوي عن النبيّ صلعم أنّه قال: المراء في القرآن كفر. ونهى السلف رضهم عن الجدال في اللّه — جلّ ثناؤه — وفي صفاته وأسمائه. وقد نُهينا | عن التفكّر [83a] في اللّه — عزّ وجلّ. وقال مالك رحه ورضه: الكلام في الدين أكرهه، ولم يزل أهل بلدنا يكرهونه، ولا أحبّ الكلام إلّا فيما تحته عمل. فأمّا الكلام في الدين وفي اللّه — عزّ وجلّ — فالسكوت أحبّ إليّ لأنّي رأيت أهل بلدنا ينهون عن الكلام في

102 قال سهل بن عبدالله التستريّ رحمه الله تع : ما أحدث أحد في العلم شيئاً إلّا يُسأل عنه يوم القيامة فإن وافق السنّة وإلّا فهو العطب . ومن سكت عن هذه الحماقات لم يُسأل عنها . وله في رسول الله صلّعم وصحابته رضهم وتابعيهم أسوة حسنة . ونحن — إن شاء الله تع — أعلم بالآثار منكم وأشدّ لها طلباً ، وقد رضينا لأنفسنا باتّباع سلفنا واجتناب المحدثات بعدهم . أفلا ترضون لأنفسكم بذلك ؟ أولا يسعنا ما وسعهم ؟ أوليس لنا في السنّة سعة عن البدعة ؟

103 ومن لم يسعه ما وسع رسول الله صلّعم وسلفه وأئمّته فلا وسّع الله عليه . ومن لم يكتفِ بما اكتفوا به ويرضَ بما رضوا به ويسلك سبيلهم وكلّ وأخذ منهم فهو من حزب الشيطان و ﴿إِنَّمَا يَدْعُوا حِزْبَهُ لِيَكُونُوا مِنْ أَصْحَابِ ٱلسَّعِيرِ﴾ . ومن لم يرضَ الصراط المستقيم سلك إلى صراط الجحيم . ومن سلك غير طريق سلفه أفضت به إلى تلفه . ومن مال عن السنّة فقد

تركت فيكم أمرين لن تضلّوا ما تمسّكتم بهما : كتاب الله وسنّة رسوله صلّعم .

101 وقد أراكم الله عبرة في هذا الرجل الذي اعتقدتم غزارة علمه كيف قد زلّ هذه الزلّة القبيحة ، فلا تغترّوا بأحد . ثمّ وإيّاكم والكلام في المسائل المحدثات التي لم تسبق فيها سنّة ماضية ولا إمام مرضيّ ، فإنّها بِدَع مُحدَثة . وقد حذّركم نبيّكم صلّعم المحدثات فقال صلّعم : إيّاكم ومحدثات الأمور فإنّ كلّ محدثة بدعة وكلّ بدعة ضلالة . وقال صلّعم : شرّ الأمور محدثاتها . وذلك مثل مسألة النُّقَط والشَّكل ، ومسألة تخليد أهل البدع في النار ، وأشباه ذلك من المحدثات والمحاقات التي لا أثر فيها فيُتّبَع ولا قول من إمام مرضيّ فيُستمَع . فإنّ الخوض فيها شَين والصمت عنها زَين والمتكلّم فيها مبتدع خائض في البدعة ومرتكب شرّ الأمور بشهادة الخبر المأثور . والله — سبحانه وتع — سائلٌ مَن تكلّم فيها عن كلامه ومطالبُهُ بحجّته وبرهانه .

ٱلَّذِينَ أَنْعَمَ ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ ٱلنَّبِيِّينَ وَٱلصِّدِّيقِينَ وَٱلشُّهَدَاءِ وَٱلصَّالِحِينَ ﴾

برحمته وكرمه .

100 وأوصي إخواني — وفّقهم الله تع — بلزوم كتاب ربّكم — سبحانه وتع — وسنّة نبيّكم صلعم والعضّ عليها بالنواجذ واجتناب المحدثات. فإنّ كلّ محدثة بدعة وكلّ بدعة ضلالة . ولا تغترّوا بمقالة قائل يصرفكم عمّا كنتم عليه من السنّة كائنًا مَن كان . فإنّه لا يزيد على نبيّكم صلعم ولا على صحابته الكرام ولا على إمامكم إمام السنّة بالاتّفاق أبي عبدالله أحمد بن محمّد بن حنبل ولا على الأئمّة الذين كانوا في عصره وقبل عصره . وقد بلغكم وذكرنا لكم بعض ما كانوا عليه وبعض وصاياهم . فلا تنحرفوا عن ذلك بقول أحد وإن ظننتموه إمامًا كبيرًا . فإنه رُوي عن معاذ بن جبل رضه أنّه قال : وزيغة الحكيم . وقال عمر رضه : ثلاث يهدم الدين: زلّة عالم وجدال منافق بالقرآن | وأئمّة مضلّون . ورُوي عن [82 b] النبيّ صلعم أنّه قال : إنّي لأخاف على أمّتي ثلاثة : أخاف عليهم من زلّة العالم ومن حكم جائر ومن هوى متّبَع . وقال صلعم:

من ضلّ بها واغترّ بتصنيفه إيّاها . فإنّ مَن سنّ سنّة سيّئة فعليه وزرها ووزر مَن عمل بها إلى يوم القيامة .

98 وأرجو أن تكون هذه الرسالة أعظم الأشياء بركة عليه ونفعًا له من حيث أنّها تمنع الناس من الضلال بكلامه . فينقطع عنه الإثم الذي كان يعرّض الوصول إليه بضلالهم به . وأسأل الله تع أن يعفو عنّا وعنه فإنّه قد تاب من هذه المقالة . وله في السنّة الكلام الكثير والتصانيف الجيّدة . ولو كان محى هذه البدعة من كتابه لكان قد استراح من إثمها وأراح من الغيبة بها . ولكنّ الله تع يفعل ما يريد . ولكنّا قد نبّأنا عنه في تبطيلها وبيان حالها ليزول اغترار المغترّين بها .

99 ونحن نشفع الله تع في العفو عنه وعنّا و[أن] يقبل توبته وتوبة جميع التائبين . ونسأله — تبارك وتع — أن يثبتنا على دينه وسنّة نبيّه صلعم ويوفّقنا لاتّباع سلفنا الصالح ولزوم طريقتهم ويجعلنا معهم يوم القيامة مع مَن

يَا وَاعِظَ النَّاسِ قَدْ أَصْبَحْتَ مُتَّهَمًا
إِذْ عِبْتَ مِنْهُمْ أُمُورًا أَنْتَ تَأْتِيهَا
كَمُلْبِسِ الثَّوْبِ مِنْ عُرْيٍ وَعَوْرَتُهُ
لِلنَّاسِ بَادِيَةٌ مَا إِنْ يُوَارِيهَا
وَأَعْظَمُ الذَّنْبِ بَعْدَ الشِّرْكِ تَعْلَمُهُ
فِي كُلِّ [نَفْسٍ] عَمَاهَا عَنْ مَسَاوِيهَا
عِرْفَانُهَا بِذُنُوبِ النَّاسِ تُبْصِرُهَا
مِنْهُمْ وَلَا تَعْرِفُ الْعَيْبَ الَّذِي فِيهَا

وقال أيضًا : [الطويل]

وَصَفْتَ التُّقَى حَتَّى كَأَنَّكَ ذُو تُقًى
وَرِيحُ الْخَطَايَا مِنْ ثِيَابِكَ يَسْطَعُ

97 فهذه التي سمّاها نصيحة إنّما هي أمر بالخوض في الله — عزّ وجل — بغير علم والردّ لسنن الرسول صلّى الله عليه وسلّم والنهي عن العناعة بقول السلف . وهي وإن كان قد تاب منها ورجع عنها فلا ينفكّ من لحوقه إثمها . ويتعلّق به إثم

96 وقد أخبر الله تع عن شعيب — عليه الصلاة والسلام — قوله : ﴿ وَمَا أُرِيدُ أَنْ أُخَالِفَكُمْ إِلَى مَا أَنْهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ ﴾ . وقالت الشعراء في ذلك أفوالا منها قول أبي الأسود :

[الكامل]

يَا أَيُّهَا ٱلرَّجُلُ ٱلْمُعَلِّمُ غَيْرَهُ
هَلَّا لِنَفْسِكَ كَانَ ذَا ٱلتَّعْلِيمُ
أَتَرَاكَ[1] تُلْفِحُ بِٱلرَّشَادِ عُقُولَنَا
صِفَةً[2] وَأَنْتَ مِنَ ٱلرَّشَادِ عَدِيمُ
لَا تَنْهِ عَنْ خُلُقٍ وَتَأْتِي مِثْلَهُ
عَارٌ عَلَيْكَ إِذَا فَعَلْتَ عَظِيمُ
[82a] إِبْدَأْ بِنَفْسِكَ فَٱنْهَهَا عَنْ غَيِّهَا
فَإِذَا ٱنْتَهَتْ عَنْهُ فَأَنْتَ حَكِيمُ
فَهُنَاكَ يَنْفَعُ إِنْ وَعَظْتَ[3] وَيُقْتَدَى[4]
بِٱلْقَوْلِ مِنْكَ وَيَنْفَعُ ٱلتَّعْلِيمُ

وقال أبو العتاهية :

[البسيط]

ومنّته — من غير وصيّته وأخذنا بما كان عليه سلفنا من غير نصيحته وفارقنا من فارقهم ورددنا على من خالفهم. ومن جملة ذلك رددنا لقوله وتبيّنّا فضيحته[1]. وأمّا هو فإنّه بهذا[2] القول آمر بالبرّ وناسٍ نفسه وناهٍ عن منكر ومخالف إلى ما نهى عنه. والله تع يمقت على ذلك. قال الله -تبارك وتع: ﴿كَبُرَ مَقْتًا عِنْدَ ٱللَّهِ أَنْ تَقُولُوا مَا لَا تَفْعَلُونَ﴾. وعيّر الله تع اليهود بقوله — سبحانه وتع: ﴿أَتَأْمُرُونَ ٱلنَّاسَ بِٱلْبِرِّ وَتَنْسَوْنَ أَنْفُسَكُمْ﴾.

95 ورُوينا في خبر عن النبيّ صلعم أنه قال: يؤتى برجل يوم القيامة فيُلقَى في النار. فتندلق اقتاب بطنه[3] فيدور فيها كما يدور الحمار في بِرَحاه. فيشرف عليه بعض من كان يعرفه في الدنيا فيقول: أيْ فلان! ما هذا؟ وإنّا معك[4] كنّا نعلم منك! فيقول: إنّي كنت آمركم بالأمر ولا آتيه وأنهاكم عن الأمر وآتيه — أو كما لُفظ الخبر.

بقوله : ﴿ وَمَا عَلَّمْنَاهُ ٱلشِّعْرَ وَمَا يَنْبَغِي لَهُ إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا ذِكْرٌ وَقُرْآنٌ مُبِينٌ ﴾ .

93 ومن المعلوم أنّ الشعر إنّما هو كلام موزون ، فلا يجوز نسبته إلّا إلى الكلام المنظوم ذي الحروف والكلمات. وقد نفى الله تع عنه كونه شعرًا وأثبته قرآنًا . ومثل هذا كثير فلأيّ معنىً يجحد الحروف بعد هذا ؟ مع أنّ لفظ الحروف قد نطق به النبيّ صلعم في أخباره وجاء عن أصحابه كثيرًا وعن مَن بعدهم ، وأجمع الناس على عدّ حروف القرآن وآيه وكلماته وأجمعوا على أنّ مَن جحد حرفًا متّفقًا عليه من القرآن فهو كافر . فما الجحد له بعد ذلك إلّا العناد.

فصل

94 فأمّا قوله : فالله الله ! في هذ الإقدام ! وعليكم بما كان عليه السلف الصالح وترك الخوض في الله بما لم يَرِدْ به شرع ولا يطابقه عقل قلنا : قد فعلنا ذلك — بحمد الله

فصل

91 وأمّا إثبات حروف القرآن فإنّ القرآن هو هذا الكتاب العربيّ المنزّل على محمّد صلّعم الذي هو سُوَر وآيات وحروف وكلمات. من قرأه فأعربه فلَهُ بكلّ حرف منه عشر حسنات. فمن أقرّ بهذا وعلمه فقد أقرّ بالحروف، فلا وجه بعد ذلك لإنكاره ولا لحُجّتِه. ومن أنكر هذا ففي القرآن أكثر من مائة آية تردّ عليه، فإجماع المسلمين يكذّبه وسنّة رسول الله صلّعم وقول أصحابه رضهم ومَن بعدهم يكفّره. [81b]

92 فكم في القرآن من آية يقول فيها إنّ ﴿هٰذَا ٱلْقُرْآنَ﴾؟ وهذا إشارة إلى حاضر. وكم فيه: ﴿وَلَقَدْ صَرَّفْنَا فِي هٰذَا ٱلْقُرْآنِ﴾ ﴿وَلَقَدْ ضَرَبْنَا لِلنَّاسِ فِي هٰذَا ٱلْقُرْآنِ﴾؟ وكم فيه من آية وَصَفه فيها بأنّه عربيّ؟ وكم من آية تحدّاهم فيها بالإتيان بمثل هذا القرآن أو بسورة مثله؟ وكم فيه من نسبة الآيات إليه والسُّوَر والكلمات؟ وقد أوعد الله تع من قال هذا قول البشر بإصلائه سقر. وردّ على من قال هو شعر

أعشاه ضَوْؤها فأعماه . قال الشاعر : [الرجز]

أَلْعِلْمُ لِلرَّجُلِ ٱللَّبِيبِ زِيَادَةٌ وَنَقِيصَةٌ لِلْأَهْمَقِ ٱلطَّيَّاشِ
مِثْلُ ٱلنَّهَارِ يَزِيدُ أَبْصَارَ ٱلْوَرَى نُورًا وَيُعْمِي أَعْيُنَ ٱلْخَفَّاشِ

90 وأمّا ما ذكر من تفاصيل شُبَهِه الكلاميّة فلا نخوض معه فيها . ولكنْ علمنا ببطلانها من أصلها . وقد بيّنّا — بما سبق — فسادَ علم الكلام من أصله وذمَّ أئمّتنا له واتّفاق أهل العلم على أنّ أصحابه أهل بدع وضلالة وأنّهم غير معدودين من أهل العلم ، وأنّ من اشتغل به يتزندق ولا يفلح . وقد ظهر برهان قول الأئمّة وصدقهم في صاحب هذه المقالة . فإنّه أفضت حاله إلى الزندقة والبدعة حتّى بُدِّع وضُلِّل وأُبيح دمه ، واحتاج إلى التوبة والإقرار على نفسه بأنّه كان على البدعة والضلالة وأنّ المنكر عليه مصيب في إنكاره عليه . وهذه المقالة من جملة الضلالات التي تاب منها والبدع التي رجع عنها .

وليس هذا تشبيهًا للمسموع. وإنّما شُبّه السماع بالسماع — أيّ سماعنا له كسماعنا لذلك. كما قال - عليه أفضل الصلاة والسلام — في الخبر الآخر: إنّكم تَرَون ربّكم كما ترون القمر لا تضامّون في رؤيته — يعني أنّ رؤيتكم لربكم كرؤيتكم للقمر في أنّه لا يراه البعض دون البعض. كالمتناول لا يحتاج في رؤيته إلى أن ينضمّ بعضهم إلى البعض. كما في رؤية الهلال يجتمع بعضهم إلى بعض ليُرِيَه مَن يراه مَن لم يَرَه. ورؤية القمر ليست كذلك. ولهذا رُوي لا تُضامون ولا تَضامّون في الضيم والضمّ جميعًا. وهذا كذلك في تشبيه السماع بالسماع لا المسموع بالمسموع.

89 ومن قصد الحقّ أرشده الله تع إلى الصواب، فحصلت له الحِكَم والفوائد من كلام الله تع وكلام رسوله صلعم. ومن قصد غير ذلك أعماه الله تع عن الهدى، فصار القرآن والسنّة عنده شُبَرًا فضلّ بها. قال الله تع: ﴿وَنُنَزِّلُ مِنَ ٱلْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شِفَآءٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَلَا يَزِيدُ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ إِلَّا خَسَارًا﴾. ونظير ذلك ضوء الشمس تضيء لصحيح البصر، ومَن ضعُف بصره ومرضت عينه

87 على أنّ ما ثبت بالكتاب والسنّة لا يُدفَع بمجرّد[1] هذيان متكلّمكم[2] ولا نترك قول رسول الله صلّعم لقول مبتدع متكلّف. ونحن لا نقبل قولهم فيما ليس كتاب فيه ولا سنّة. ولا لهم عندنا قدر ولا محلّ. فكيف نقبل في إبطال الكتاب والردّ على السنّة مع تمسّكنا بها ولزومنا إيّاها وعضّنا[3] عليها بالنواجذ وحرصنا عليها حرص من يقطع بأنّ النجاة في لزومها والعطب في فراقها والخطاء والخذلان في خلافها؟ — ونسأل الله تبع الثبات علينا في الحياة والممات إلى يوم نلقاه فيجزينا به ويجعلنا في زمرة شارعها صلّعم.

88 وأمّا شبهته في قوله: كجرّ السلسلة[1] على الصفا — في أنّ هذا تشبيه فهذا اعتراض على سيّد المرسلين محمّد رسول الله الصادق الأمين صلّعم ونسبة له إلى التمثيل والتجسيم. ومن فعل [81a] هذا فقد مرق من الدين. وليس الأمر كما زعم هذا المتخرّص العديم الدين. ولكنّه إنّما أُتي من فساد قصده وقلّة فهمه:

وَكَمْ عَائِبٍ قَوْلًا صَحِيحًا وَآفَتُهُ مِنَ ٱلْفَهْمِ ٱلسَّقِيمِ [المجتث]

إنّما تُوجَد من الشرع . وأنتم — قبّحكم الله — ما وجدتم لله تع من تسعة وتسعين اسمًا اسمًا تسمّونه به حتّى أحكيتم له من عندكم اسمًا ؟ ثمّ قد نفى الله — سبحانه وتع — هذا عن نفسه ، فقال تع : ﴿ وَمَا كُنَّا غَائِبِينَ ﴾ .

85 الثاني أنّكم رجعتم إلى التشبيه الذي نَفْيُه معتمَدُكم في ردّ كتاب الله تع وسنّة رسوله صلّعم وجعلتم الله تع مقيسًا على عباده ومشابهًا لهم في صفاته وأسمائه . وهذا هو عين التشبيه فبُعدًا لكم !

86 الثالث أنّ هذا باطل بسائر صفات الله تع التي سلّمتموها من السمع والبصر والعلم والحياة . فإنها لا تكون في حقّنا إلّا من أدوات . فالسمع من الخراق والبصر من حَدَقة والعلم من قلب والحياة في جسم . ثمّ جميع الصفات لا تكون إلّا في جسم . فإن قلتم إنّها في حقّ الباري كذلك فقد جسّمتم وشبّهتم وكفرتم . وإن قلتم لا تفتقر إلى ذلك فلِمَ احتيج إليها هنا ؟

82 ثمّ نقول[1]: بل الصوت هو [ما] يتأتّى سماعه. وهذا هو الحدّ الصحيح الذي يشهد له العُرف. فإنّ الصوت أبداً يُوصَف بالسماع. فتعلُّق السماع بالصوت كتعلّق الرؤية بالمرئيّات. ثمّ ثبت بالخبر الصحيح إضافة الصوت إلى الله — تبارك وتع. والنبيّ صلعم أعلم بالله — تبارك وتع — وأصدق من المتكلّمين الذين لا علم لهم ولا دين ولا دنيا ولا آخرة. وإنّما هم شرّ الخليقة الغالب عليهم الزندقة. وقد ألقى الله تع مقتهم في قلوب عباده وبغضهم إليهم.

83 ثمّ لو ثبت أنّ الصوت في المشاهدات يكون من اصطكاك الأجرام فلِمَ يكون كذلك في صفات الله — سبحانه وتع؟ قولهم: إنّ ما ثبت في حقّنا يكون في الغائب مثله. قلنا: أخطأتم من وجوه ثلاثة:

84 أحدها تسميتكم الله تع غائباً. وأسماء الله تع وصفاته

يُدرَى أصحيح هو أو باطل ؟ فكيف ينقاد خصمه إليه فيما هو معترف فيه بعمى نفسه وجهله به ؟

81 ومن العجب أنّ هؤلاء المتكلّمين — أعمى الله بصائرهم فوق ما قد أعماها — يزعمون أنّهم لا يرضون إلّا بالأدلّة القاطعة والبراهين اليقينيّة ويَرَون الأخبار — زعمًا منهم أنّها أخبار آحاد — لا تفيد علمًا يقينًا ، ثمّ يستدلّون بمثل هذا الذي لا يدلّ على شيء أصلًا لا ظاهرًا ولا يقينًا ، بل هو لمجرّد عمىً وهذيان يصوغه من عند نفسه ويخرجه من زبد معدته. فإذا مُنعه وطولب بصحّته لم يكن معه شيء يدلّ عليه سوى أنّا قد اصطلحنا أنّ الحدّ لا يُمنَع. أفترى — إذا أعمى الله أبصارهم وبصائرهم — يظنّون أنّنا نقبل منهم مجرّد دعواهم ونثابعهم على عماهم ؟ وإنّما مثلهم في [80b] هذا كمثل أعمىً يبول على سطح مستقبل الناسَ بفرجه يحسب أنّ أحدًا لا يراه لمّا عمي هو عن رؤية نفسه.

80 وأمّا قوله إنّ الصوت اصطكاك في الهواء أو فقرع في الهواء ، فهذا بيان محض ودعوى مجرّدة لا يشهد بصحّتها خبر ولا معه فيها أثر ولا أقام به حجّة ولا هو فيه على محجّة. فإذا قيل له : لا نسلّم أنّه كذلك فما دليله ؟ فإن قال: هذا اصطلاحنا معشر المتكلّمين قلنا : فهذا أبعد من الصواب وأقرب له إلى البطلان . فإنّكم نبذتم الكتاب والسنّة وعاديتم الله — سبحانه وتعالى — ورسوله . فما تكادون توفّقون لصواب ولا ترشدون إلى حقّ ولا يُقبَل قولكم ولا يُلتفت إلى اصطلاحكم . فإن قال : هذا حدّ والحدّ لا يُمنَع قلنا : ولِمَ لا يُمنَع ؟ وهل سمعتَ بدعوى تلزم الخصم الانقياد لها لمجرّدها من غير ظهور صحّتها أو إقامة برهان عليها ؟ فإن قال : لا يمكن إقامة البرهان عليها قلنا : فهذا اعتراف بالعجز عن دليلها والجهل بصحّتها . فإذا لم تعرف دليلها فبِمَ عرفتَ صحّتها ؟ ومن اعترف بالجهل بصحّة ما يقول فقد كفى مؤنته واعترف لهم بجهله وبطلان قوله . وكيف يُصار إلى قولٍ لا

قال : حدّثنا عبدالرحمن بن محمّد المحاربيّ عن سليمان بن مهران | الأعمش [80a
عن أبي الضحى عن مسروق عن عبدالله رضه قال : إذا تكلّم الله
بالوحي سمع صوتَه أهلُ السماء . قال السجزيّ : وما في رواة
هذا الحديث إلّا إمام مقبول . وقد رُوي مرفوعًا إلى رسول الله
صلعم .

79 وفي حديث عبدالله بن أنيس رضه أنّ الله تع يناديهم
يوم القيامة بصوت يسمعه مَن بَعُد كما يسمعه مَن قَرُب : أنا
الملك ! أنا الديّان ! وهو حديث مشهور . وفي الآثار أنّ
موسى صلعم لمّا ناداه ربّه — عزّ وجلّ : يا موسى ! أجاب سريعًا
استئناسًا بالصوت ، فقال : لبّيك ! لبّيك ! أين أنت ؟
أسمع صوتك ولا أرى مكانك . فقال : يا موسى ! أنا
فوقك وعن يمينك وعن شمالك وبين يديك وخلفك . فعلم
أنّ هذه الصفة لا تكون إلّا لله — عزّ وجلّ . قال : فكذلك
أنت يا ربّ . ومرويّ أنّ موسى صلعم لمّا سمع كلام الآدميّين
مقتهم لِمَا وقر في أذنيه في سماع كلام الله تع .

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77 وأمّا قوله في مسألة القرآن فالكلام فيها في فصلين أحدُهما في الصوت الذي بدأ بإنكاره. فنقول: ثبت أنّ موسى صلّعم سمع كلام الله — تبارك وتع — منه بغير واسطة. فإنّه لو سمعه من شجرة أو حجر أو ملك لكان بنو إسرائيل أفضل منه في ذلك لأنّهم سمعوه من موسى نبيّ الله صلّعم وهو أفضل من الشجرة والحجر. فلِمَ سُمّي موسى إذًا كليم الرحمن؟ ولِمَ قال الله تع: ﴿ يَا مُوسَى إِنِّي ٱصْطَفَيْتُكَ عَلَى ٱلنَّاسِ بِرِسَالَٰتِي وَبِكَلَٰمِي ﴾؟ وقال تع: ﴿ فَلَمَّا أَتَاهَا نُودِيَ يَا مُوسَى إِنِّي أَنَا رَبُّكَ ﴾ ولا يقول له هذا إلّا الله تع.

78 ولو ذا ثبت هذا فالصوت ما سُمع وما يتأتّى سماعه. وقد جاء ذكر الصوت مصرّحًا به في الأخبار الواردة. قال عبد الله ابن الإمام أحمد: قلت لأبي: يا أبه! إنّ الجهميّة يزعمون أنّ الله تع لا يتكلّم بصوت. فقال: كذبوا! إنّما يدوّرون علم التعطيل. ثمّ

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76 وأمّا قوله: إنّكم بدّعتم مخالفيكم في هذه الأصول وسوّغتم مخالفة أصحابكم فيها، فكذب وبهتان. فإنّنا لا نسوّغ لأحد مخالفة السنّة كائناً من كان. وإن كان من أصحابنا فنحن عليه أشدّ إنكاراً من غيره. ودليل ذلك أنك منتسب إلى أصحابنا وإمامنا فإذ صدرت منك هذه المقالة بدّعناك وهجرناك أصحابنا وأحلّوا دمك، ولولا توبتك ورجوعك لكنّا عليك أشدّ ومنك أبعد. ونحن لا نبدّع إلّا من بدّعته السنّة ولا نقول شيئاً من عندنا، ولكنّ النبيّ صلّى قال: كلّ محدثة بدعة وكلّ بدعة ضلالة. فمن أحدث في الدين خلاف ما أتى عن رسول الله صلّى وخالف أصحابه رضيهم وترك قول الأئمّة والفقهاء في الدين ورجع إلى قول المتكلّمين ودعا إلى خلاف السنّة فقد ابتدع، وإنّه تحت مصيبه والمجازي له، إن شاء تاب عليه وإن شاء أضلّه وحقّ القولُ عليه. — والله — سبحانه وتعالى — الفعّال لما يريد.

75 وكم قد شرح هو مقالة أهل السنّة في هذه المسألة وبيّن الحقّ فيها بعد توبته من هذه المقالة، وبيّن أنّه إذا سألنا سائل عن | معنى هذه الألفاظ قلنا: لا نزيدك على [79b] ألفاظها زيادة تفيد معنىً بل قراءتها تفسيرها من غير معنىً بعينه ولا تفسير بنفسه[1]، ولكن قد علمنا أنّ لها معنىً في الجملة يعلمه المتكلّم بها، فنحن نؤمن بها بذلك المعنى. ومن كان كذلك كيف يسأل عن معنىً وهو يقول لا أعلمه؟ وكيف يسأل عن كيفيّة ما يرى أنّ السؤال عنه بدعة والكلام في تفسيره خطاء والبحث عنه تكلّف وتعمّق؟ أوَما سمع حكاية مالك بن أنس رحمه تع ورضّه حين سُئل عن قوله تع: ﴿ٱلرَّحْمَٰنُ عَلَى ٱلْعَرْشِ ٱسْتَوَىٰ﴾ كيف استوى؟ فأطرق حتّى علاه الرحضاء، ثمّ رفع رأسه فقال: الاستوى غير مجهول والكيف غير معقول والإيمان به واجب والسؤال عنه بدعة. ثمّ أمر بالرجل فأُخرج.

إيمان بمجرّد الألفاظ التي لا شكّ في صحّتها ولا ريب في صدقها ، وقائلها أعلم بمعناها ، فآمنّا بها على المعنى الذي أراد ربّنا — تبارك وتعالى — فجمعنا بين الإيمان الواجب ونفي التشبيه المحرّم . وهذا أسدّ وأحسن من قول من جعل الآيات والأخبار تجسيمًا وتشبيهًا وتخييلًا على إبطالها وردّها فحملها على معنى صفات المخلوقين بسوء رأيه وقبح عقيدته . — ونعوذ بالله من الضلال البعيد !

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74 وأمّا قوله : هاتوا أخبرونا ما الذي يظهر لكم من معنى هذه الألفاظ الواردة في الصفات ، فهذا قد تسرّع في التجاهل والتعامي كأنّه لا يعرف معتقد أهل السنّة وقولهم فيها ، وهو قوله وقد تربّى بين أظهرها وعرف أقوالهم فيها . ولئن كان الله — سبحانه وتعالى — قد أبكمه وأعمى قلبه إلى هذا الحدّ بحيث لا يعلم مقالتهم فيها مع معاشرته لهم واطّلاعه على كتبهم ودعواه الفهم فالله على كلّ شيء قدير .

72 وسمعتُ بعض أصحابنا يقول : سمعت قوماً يقولون: الحنابلة يقولون : ﴿ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنُ عَلَى ٱلْعَرْشِ ٱسْتَوَىٰ ﴾ . قال : فقلت لهم : يا قوم ! الله الله ! إنكم لتنسبون إلى الحنابلة شيئاً ما يصلحون له ولا يبلغون إليه . هذا قول الله — سبحانه وتع : ﴿ قُل لَّئِنِ ٱجْتَمَعَتِ ٱلْإِنسُ وَٱلْجِنُّ عَلَىٰٓ أَن يَأْتُوا۟ بِمِثْلِ هَٰذَا ٱلْقُرْءَانِ لَا يَأْتُونَ بِمِثْلِهِۦ وَلَوْ كَانَ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ ظَهِيرًا ﴾ . فجعلتموه قولاً للحنابلة ورفعتم قدرهم حتى جعلتموهم أهلاً لذلك . وإنما يحصل التشبيه والتجسيم ممن حمل صفات الله — سبحانه وتع — على صفات المخلوقين في المعنى ، ونحن لا نعتقد ذلك ولا ندين به ، بل نعلم أن الله — تبارك وتع — ﴿ لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِۦ شَىْءٌ ۖ وَهُوَ ٱلسَّمِيعُ ٱلْبَصِيرُ ﴾ ، وأنّ صفاته لا تشبه صفات المحدَثين ، وكلّ ما خطر بقلب أو وهم فالله — عزّ وجلّ — بخلافه ، لا شبيه له ولا نظير ولا عدل ولا ظهير ﴿ لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِۦ شَىْءٌ ۖ وَهُوَ ٱلسَّمِيعُ ٱلْبَصِيرُ ﴾ .

73 وأمّا إيماننا بالآيات وأخبار الصفات فإنّما هو

تعجيماً.

71 ثمّ كيف يعملون في الآيات الواردة في الصفات؟ فهل لهم سبيل إلى ردّها أو طريق في إبطالها أو يثبتونها مع التشبيه في زعمهم؟ ولقد علموا — إن شاء الله — أنّ لا تشبيه في شيء من هذا ولكنّهم — قبّحهم الله تع — يبهتون ولا يستحيون. وإن [79a] كان الله تع قد أعمى قلوبهم حتّى ظنّوا ذلك فما هو ببعيد. فقد رأينا من ينسب قول الله تع وقول رسوله صلعم إلينا على وجه العيب لنا بل فيقول: أنتم تقولون: ﴿ٱلرَّحْمَٰنُ عَلَى ٱلْعَرْشِ ٱسْتَوَىٰ﴾ وأنتم تقولون: ﴿وَكَلَّمَ ٱللَّهُ مُوسَىٰ تَكْلِيمًا﴾ وأنتم تقولون: ينزل الله كلّ ليلة إلى سماء الدنيا. وهذا كلام الله — تبارك وتع — الذي ﴿لَّا يَأْتِيهِ ٱلْبَٰطِلُ مِنۢ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَلَا مِنْ خَلْفِهِۦ تَنزِيلٌ مِّنْ حَكِيمٍ حَمِيدٍ﴾ وكلام رسوله صلعم، حملتهم العصبيّة وعمى القلب على أن جعلوه كلاماً لنا، ثمّ عابوه علينا. ومن عاب كتاب الله — عزّ وجلّ — وسنّة رسوله صلّعم فليس بسالم. ومن جعل كلام الله — عزّ وجل — كلاماً لغيره فهو جاهل غبيّ.

هو شيءٌ وضعه المتكلّمون وأهل البدع توسّلوا به إلى إبطال السنن وردّ الآثار والأخبار والتمويه على الجهّال والأغمار ليوهّموهم: إنّما قصدنا التنزيه ونفي التشبيه. وهذا مثل عمل الباطنيّة في التمسّك بأهل البيت وإظهار حبّهم إيهامًا للعامّة أنهم قصدوا نصرهم. وإنّما تستّروا بهم إلى إبطال الشريعة والتمكّن من عيب الصحابة والخلفاء الراشدين — رضوان الله عليهم أجمعين — بنسبتهم إليهم ظلم أهل البيت والتعدّي عليهم.

70 كذلك طائفة المتكلّمين والمبتدعة تمسّكوا بنفي التشبيه توسّلوا إلى عيب أهل الآثار وإبطال الأخبار، وإلّا فمن أيّ وجه حصل التشبيه؟ إن كان التشبيه حاصلًا من المشاركة في الأسماء والألفاظ فقد شبّهوا الله تع حيث أثبتوا له صفات من السمع والبصر والعلم والقدرة والإرادة والحياة مع المشاركة في ألفاظها. ولله تسعة وتسعون اسمًا ليس فيها ما لا يُسمّى به غيره إلّا اسم الله تع والرحمن وسائرها يُسمّى بها غيره — سبحانه وتع — ولم يكن ذلك تشبيهًا ولا

بالصحّة وعلى رواتها بالإتقان والعدالة ، فطرحها مخالف للإجماع خارج عن أهل الاتّفاق ، فلا يُلتفت إليه ولا يُعرَج عليه والثاني أنّ رواة هذه الأخبار هم نقلة الشريعة ورواة الأحكام وعليهم الاعتماد في بيان الحلال والحرام في الدين . وإذا أبطلنا قولهم بتأويلنا وجب ردّ قولهم ثمّ فتبطل الشريعة ويذهب الدين.

68 الجواب الثاني أنّا لا نسلّم له في جميعها أنّها أخبار آحاد . فإنّ كثيرا ما نُقل من طرق كثيرة متواطئة يصدّق بعضها بعضاً ويشهد بعضها لبعض . فهي وإن لم تتواتر آحادها لكن حصل من المجموع القطع واليقين بثبوت أصلها ، ويكفي ذلك في التواتر . فإنّنا نقطع بسخاء حاتم وشجاعة عليّ وعدل عمر وعلم عائشة وخلافة الخلفاء الأربعة ولم يُنقَل إلينا فيها خبر واحد متواتر ، لكن تظاهرت الأخبار بها وصدّق بعضها بعضاً ولم يُوجَد لها مكذّب ، فحصل التواتر بالمجموع . كذا ههنا .

69 وأمّا ما يموّه به من نفي التشبيه والتجسيم فإنّما

يعبّر عمّا في القلب اللسانُ ، وألسنتنا تصرّح بنفي التشبيه والتمثيل والتجسيم ، فليس لهم أن يتحكّموا علينا بأن ينسبوا إلينا ما لم يظهر منّا ولم يصدر عنّا . والإثم على الكاذب دون المكذوب كما أنّ حدّ القذف على القاذف لا على المقذوف ، وكنّا نا مدحًا وبراءةً أنّ خصومنا لا يجدون لنا عيبًا يعيبوننا به هم فيصادقون ونحن به مقرّون ، وإنّما يعيبوننا بكذبهم ، ولو قدروا على عيب لما احتاجوا إلى الكذب .

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66 وأمّا قوله إنّ الإخبار يجب إطراحها لأنّها أخبار آحاد وقد ثبت بأدلّة العقول القطع بنفي التشبيه والتجسيم فالجواب عنه من وجهين :

67 أحدهما بيان وجوب قبول هذه الأخبار لوجهين : أحدهما اتّفاق الأئمّة على نقلها وروايتها وتخريجها في الصحاح والمسانيد وتدوينها في الدواوين وحكم الحفّاظ المتّفقين عليها

ثمّ هو مزرٍ على السلف أجمعين . ولا مرية في خطاء من عاب هؤلاء كلّهم وبدعته وضلالته .

64 وإذا دخلنا نحن في جملة الذين أثنى الله تع عليهم وصوّب فعلهم وقولهم لم يضرّنا عيب مفتون مبتدع مخذول . وإذا سلكنا سبيل ربّنا — عزّ وجلّ — التي رضيها لنا لم نبالِ برغم أنف من سلك سبيل إبليس اللعين المفضية به إلى سواء الجحيم.

وَإِذَا أَتَتْكَ مَذَمَّتِي مِنْ نَاقِصٍ [الكامل]
فَهِيَ الشَّهَادَةُ لِي بِأَنِّيَ فَاضِلُ

65 وعلى كلٍّ فليس لنا قول نُعاب به . إن عيبت علينا الألفاظ التي آمنا بها فما عِيب إلّا قائلها ولا كفرنا إلّا بالمتكلّم بها ، وهو الذي يجازيهم على كفرهم وإلحادهم . وإن عِيب علينا السكوت فليس السكوت بقول ، ولا يُنسَب إلى ساكت قول . وإن قالوا : قد اعتقدتم التشبيه منزلا فقد كذبوا علينا ونسبوا إلينا ما قد علم الله تع براءتنا منه . ثمّ ليس لهم الاطّلاع على قلوبنا ، وإنّما

61 وإن عاب السكوت عن التفسير أخطأ. فإنّنا لا نعلم لها تفسيراً، ومن لم يعلم شيئاً وجب عليه السكوت عنه وحُرّم عليه الكلام فيه. قال الله تع: ﴿وَلَا تَقْفُ مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ﴾. وذكر الله تع في المحرّمات: ﴿وَأَنْ تَقُولُوا عَلَى ٱللَّهِ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾. وإذا فعلنا ما أوجب الله — تبارك وتع — علينا وتركنا ما حرّمه فقد وجه لعيبنا به، وإنّما العيب على من خالف ذلك وعابه.

62 وأيضاً فإنّ عائب هذه المقالة عائب على رسول الله صلعم، فإنّه كان يؤمن بالله وكلماته ولم يفسّر شيئاً من ذلك ولا بيّن معناه. ومن عاب على رسول الله صلعم فليس بمؤمن به صلعم، ومن عاب على رسول الله صلعم فهو المخطئ الآثم المعيب المذموم.

63 ثمّ العائب لها عائب على الراسخين الذين أثنى الله تع عليهم [و] الأمرِ الذي مدحهم الله تع به من التسليم والإيمان.

عِنْدِ رَبِّنَا ﴾. فهذا الطريق السليم الذي لا خطر على سالكه ولا وحشة على صاحبه ولا مخافة على مقتفيه ولا ضرر على السائر فيه ، من سلكه سلم ومن فارقه عطب وندم ، وهو سبيل المؤمنين الذي دلّت عليه السنّة وسلكه صالح الأمّة ﴿ وَمَنْ يُشَاقِقِ ٱلرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا | تَبَيَّنَ لَهُ ٱلْهُدَىٰ [78a] وَيَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّىٰ وَنُصْلِهِ جَهَنَّمَ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا ﴾.

60 وعائب هذه المقالة لا يخلو إمّا أن يعيب الإيمان بالألفاظ أو السكوت عن التفسير أو الأمرين معاً. فإن عاب الإيمان بالألفاظ فهي قول ربّ العالمين ورسوله الصادق الأمين صلّعم ، فعائبها كافر بالله العظيم. ولأنّ عائب الإيمان بهما لا يخلو من أن يكون مؤمناً بهما أو كافراً ، فإن كان مؤمناً بهما فكيف يعيب ما هو عليه؟ وإن كفر بهما خرج من الإسلام وكفر بالإيمان. قال الله تع: ﴿ وَمَا يَجْحَدُ بِآيَاتِنَا إِلَّا ٱلْكَافِرُونَ ﴾.

وصف الله تع بالاستيلاء والله تع لم يصف بذلك نفسه ، ونفى صفة الاستوى مع ذكر الله — تبارك وتع — لها في القرآن في سبعة مواضع . أفما كان الله — سبحانه وتع — قادرًا على أن يقول استولى حتى جاء المتكلّف المتأوّل فتظرّف وتحكّم على الله — سبحانه — وعلى رسوله ؟ تعالى الله عمّا يقول الظالمون علوًّا كبيرًا !

59 وإذا انسدّ باب التأويل من هذه الطرق كلّها مع أنّ في واحد منها كفاية لم يبقَ إلّا الطريق الواضح والقول السديد وسلوك سبيل الله تع التي دلّت على استقامتها الآثار وسلكها الصحابة الأبرار والأئمّة الأخيار ومضى عليها الصالحون واقتفاها المتّقون وأوصى بلزمها الأئمّة الناصحون الصادقون ، وهي الإيمان بالألفاظ والآيات والأخبار بالمعنى الذي أراده الله تع منها والسكوت عمّا لا نعلمه من معناها وترك البحث عمّا لم يكلّفنا الله البحث عنه من تأويلها ولم يطلعنا على علمه واتّباع طريق الراسخين الذين أثنى الله عليهم في كتابه المبين حين قالوا : ﴿ آمَنَّا بِهِ كُلٌّ مِنْ

تكليف القول بالجهل والترجّم على صفات الله — سبحانه وتع — وكتابه وآياته بالتخرّص والحدس. وهذا حرام بالاتّفاق. وإن كان غير واجب على من لا يعلمه فكيف يأمرون به عامّة الناس ومن لا يعلمه وينكرون عليهم تركه؟ ولو كانوا ذوي تقوى أعفوا العامّة عن التأويل وأمروهم بترك التعرّض لما لا يعلمون.

57 الوجه الثامن أنّ التأويل قول في كتاب الله — عزّ وجلّ — وسنّة رسوله صلّعم بالرأي. ومن قال في كتاب الله برأيه وإن أصاب فقد أخطأ. وقد قال أبو بكر الصدّيق رضه حين سُئل عن الأبّ فقال: أيّ سماء تظلّني وأيّ أرض تقلّني إذا قلت في كتاب الله تع ما لا أعلم؟

58 الوجه التاسع أنّ المتأوّل يجمع بين وصف الله تع بصفة ما وصف بها نفسه ولا أضافها إليه وبين نفي صفة أضافها الله تع إليه. فإذا قال: معنى استوى استولى فقد

ضالّ بحكم الخبر المذكور .

55 الوجه السادس أنّ التأويل تكلّف وحمق وتنطّع وكلام بالجهل وتعرّض للخطر فيما لا ندعو إليه حاجة . فإنه لا حاجة لنا إلى علم معنى ما أراد الله تع من صفاته — جلّ وعزّ ، فإنه لا يُراد منّا عمل ولا يتعلّق بها تكليف سوى الإيمان بها ، ويمكن الإيمان بها من غير علم معناها . فإنّ الإيمان بالجهل صحيح . فإنّ الله تع أمر بالإيمان بملائكته وكتبه ورسله | وما أنزل إليهم وإن [77b] كنّا لا نعرف من ذلك إلّا التسمية . وقال — سبحانه وتع: ﴿قُولُوا آمَنَّا بِاللَّهِ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْنَا وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ﴾ الآية. وقد نُهينا عن التبدّي والتنطّع والتكلّف.[2] وقال الله تع لنبيّه صلعم: ﴿قُلْ مَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ مِنْ أَجْرٍ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُتَكَلِّفِينَ﴾.

56 الوجه السابع أنّه لو كان التأويل واجبًا لم يخلُ إمّا أن يجب على الأعيان أو على من قام عنده دليله . فإن وجب على الأعيان ولزم الخلق كلّهم من عدم المعرفة بدليله ففيه

وليس يلزم من مجرّد احتمال اللفظ للمعنى أن يكون مرادًا به، فإنّه كما يحتمل هذا المعنى يحتمل غيره، وقد يحتمل معانيَ أُخَر لا يعلمها. وليس له إحاطة بمقتضى اللغات، لا سيّما المتكلّمين فإنهم بعداء من معرفة اللغات والعلوم النافعة. وقد حرّم الله تع عليه القول بغير علم، فقال تع: ﴿قُلْ إِنَّمَا حَرَّمَ رَبِّيَ الْفَوَاحِشَ مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا وَمَا بَطَنَ وَالْإِثْمَ وَالْبَغْيَ بِغَيْرِ الْحَقِّ وَأَنْ تُشْرِكُوا بِاللَّهِ مَا لَمْ يُنَزِّلْ بِهِ سُلْطَانًا وَأَنْ تَقُولُوا عَلَى اللَّهِ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾.

54 الوجه الخامس أنّ التأويل حدثٌ في الدين. فإنّ الحدث كلّ قول في الدين ماتت الصحابة رضهم على السكوت عنه. والحدث في الدين هو البدعة التي حذّرناها نبيُّنا صلعم وأخبرنا أنّها شرّ الأمور، فقال — عليه الصلاة والسلام: شرّ الأمور محدثاتها. وقال صلعم: عليكم بسنّتي وسنّة الخلفاء الراشدين المهديّين من بعدي، عضّوا عليها بالنواجذ، وإيّاكم ومحدثات الأمور فإنّ كلّ محدثة بدعة وكلّ بدعة ضلالة. والمتأوّل تارك لسنّة رسول الله صلعم وسنّة الخلفاء الراشدين، وهو محدث مبتدع

النبيّ صلّعم لأمّته، فإنّه لا يجوز تأخير البيان عن وقته، ولأنّه لو وجب علينا التأويل لوجب عليه صلّعم، فإنّه صلّعم مساوٍ لنا في الأحكام، ولو وجب عليه لما أخلّ به، ولأنّه صلّعم حريص على أمّته لم يكتم عنهم شيئًا أمره الله به. وقد قال الله تع: ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ﴾.

52 الوجه الثالث أنّه قد ثبت أنّ مذهب السلف رضهم ومَن بعدهم من الأئمّة في هذه الآيات الإقرار والإمرار والرضاء والتسليم من غير تأويل ولا تعطيل، وقد بيّنّا بالدليل أنّ مذهبهم الحقّ وأنّهم على الهدى المستقيم، فلا يجوز مخالفة سبيلهم ولا العدول عن طريقهم.

53 الوجه الرابع أنّ التأويل حكم على الله -- عزّ وجل -- بما لا يعلمه [المتأوّل] وتفسير مراده بما لا يعلم أنّه أراده. فإن أكثر ما عند المتأوّل أنّ هذه اللفظة تحتمل هذا المعنى في اللغة.

والتمثيل على ما هو مذهب السلف الصالح والأئمة المرضيّين — رحمة الله عليهم أجمعين . وبيان ذلك من وجوه تسعة :

50 أحدها قول الله — سبحانه وتع ﴿هُوَ ٱلَّذِي أَنزَلَ عَلَيْكَ ٱلْكِتَابَ مِنْهُ آيَاتٌ مُّحْكَمَاتٌ هُنَّ أُمُّ ٱلْكِتَابِ وَأُخَرُ مُتَشَابِهَاتٌ فَأَمَّا ٱلَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ زَيْغٌ فَيَتَّبِعُونَ مَا تَشَابَهَ مِنْهُ ٱبْتِغَاءَ ٱلْفِتْنَةِ وَٱبْتِغَاءَ تَأْوِيلِهِ﴾ . فذمّ متّبع التأويل وقرنه بمبتغي الفتنة في الذمّ ، وجعل ابتغاءه لذلك علامة على الزيغ ، فدلّ ذلك على أنّ ابتغاءه غير جائز . ثمّ قطعهم عمّا أمّلوه وحجبهم عن بلوغ ما ابتغوه بقوله — سبحانه وتع : ﴿وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا ٱللَّهُ﴾ . ثمّ قال — سبحانه وتع : ﴿وَٱلرَّاسِخُونَ فِي ٱلْعِلْمِ يَقُولُونَ آمَنَّا بِهِ كُلٌّ مِّنْ عِندِ رَبِّنَا وَمَا يَذَّكَّرُ إِلَّا أُولُوا ٱلْأَلْبَابِ﴾ . ثمّ سألوا ربّهم أن لا يجعلهم مثل متّبعي التأويل الزائغين فقالوا : ﴿رَبَّنَا لَا تُزِغْ قُلُوبَنَا بَعْدَ إِذْ هَدَيْتَنَا﴾ . [77a]

51 الوجه الثاني أنّه لو كان تأويل ذلك واجباً لبيّنه

سلفه ولا رضي باتّباع أئمّته ولم يجوّز تقليدهم في مثل السكوت عن تأويل الصفات التي وقع الكلام فيها فكيف يصنع ؟ فهل له سبيل إلى معرفة الصحيح من ذلك باجتهاد نفسه ونظر عقله ؟ ومتى ينتهي إلى حدّ يمكنه التمييز بين صحيح الدليل وفاسده ؟ فهذا ابن عقيل الذي زعم أنّه استفرغ وسعه في علم الكلام مع الذكاء والفطنة في طول زمانه ما أفلح ولا وُفّق لرشد ، بل أفضى أمره إلى ارتكاب البدع المضلّات والخطاء القبيح ومفارقة الصواب حتّى استُتيب من مقالته وأُقرّ على نفسه ببدعته وضلالته . فأنت أيّها المغترّ بقوله هذا متى تبلغ إلى درجته ؟ فإذا بلغتها فما الذي أعجبك من حالته حتّى تقتدي به ؟ وقد ذكرنا ما قاله الأئمّة في ذمّ الكلام وأهله ، ونسأل الله تمام السلامة .

49 الوجه الخامس أنّا إذا نظرنا في الدليل وجدناه يقضي خلاف ما دعا إليه ابن عقيل من الإيمان بالآيات وأخبار الصفات مع الإقرار والتسليم وترك التأويل والتعطيل والتشبيه

الاجتهاد في أحكامهم وأنّ لهم تقليد العلماء في أمورهم، وكذلك أمرهم الله تع بسؤال علمائهم فقال: ﴿فَسْئَلُوا أَهْلَ الذِّكْرِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾.

47 | الرابع أنّ في القول بوجوب الاجتهاد على الكلّ حكماً على [76b] عامّة الخلق بالضلال لتضييعهم الواجب عليهم. وإنّما الذي قيل إنّه لا يجوز لهم التقليد هو الأمر الظاهر الذي قد علموه لظهوره من غير احتياج إلى تعب ولا فكر ولا نظر كتوحيد الله — سبحانه وتع — ورسالة محمّد صلعم ومعرفة وجوب الصلوات الخمس وصوم رمضان وسائر الأركان التي اشتهر وجوبها وعُلم ذلك بالإجماع عليها، فلا يُحتاج فيه إلى بحث ولا نظر، فهذا لا يجوز تقليدهم فيه. وأمّا دقائق الاعتقادات وتفاصيل أحكام العبادات والبياعات فما يقول بوجوب اجتهادهم فيها إلّا جاهل، وهو باطل بما ذكرناه.

48 ثمّ إن اغترّ مغترّ بقول ابن عقيل هذا ولم يقنع باتّباع

صلعم : أُمرت أن أقاتل الناس حتّى يقولوا لا إله إلّا الله ، فإذا قالوها عصموا منّي دماءهم وأموالهم إلّا بحقّها ، وحسابهم على الله — عزّ وجلّ . أفترى يكون النبيّ صلعم مخطئاً في قبول ذلك منهم وقناعته بمجرّد إسلامهم من أن يتعلّموا علم الكلام وينظروا في العرض والجوهر والجسم ويكون المتكلّمون هم المصيبون ، في خطاء من لم يتعلّم ذلك ولم ينظر فيه ؟ فإن كان هذا هكذا فليدّعوا لأنفسهم شريعة ودينا غير دين الإسلام ويَدّعوا دين محمّد صلعم .

45 الثاني أنّ تكليف العامّة الاجتهاد تكليف ما لا يُطاق . فإنّهم لو اشتغلوا بعلم ما يصيرون به مجتهدين لانقطعوا عن المعايش والحراثة والزراعة وخربت الدنيا وهلك الخلق وانقطع النسل وتُرك الجهاد وخربت الدنيا ، ولا سبيل إلى هذا ، وقد قال الله تع : ﴿لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا﴾.

46 الثالث أنّ الإجماع منعقد على أنّ العامّة لا يكلّفون

بعضهم بعضاً على التمسك به ومنذروا أصحابهم من مخالفته فكيف يُقال لمتبع ذلك أحمق مغترّ؟ إنّما الأحمق المغترّ المخطئ المبتدع هو المخالف لذلك الراغب عنه. قال الله تع: ﴿وَمَنْ يُشَاقِقِ الرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُ الْهُدَى وَيَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّى وَنُصْلِهِ جَهَنَّمَ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا﴾.

43 فإن قال: إنّما أُمرتم[1] بالاجتهاد والمصير إلى ما دلّ عليه الدليل ونُهيتم[2] عن التقليد المذموم قلنا: الجواب عن هذا من أوجه أحدُها أنّ طريق السلف قد ثبت بالدليل القاطع سلامته وصحّة حجّته من الكتاب والسنّة والإجماع فلا حاجة إلى الكشف عن صحّته بدليل آخر. الثاني أنّ في هذا القول إلزامًا للعامّة بالاجتهاد[3] في دقائق الأمور والاعتقادات وهذا خطاء من وجوه:

44 أحدُها أنّ فيه تخطئة رسول الله صلعم فإنّ النبيّ صلعم لم يأمر أحدًا من أمّته بعلم الكلام والنظر في أدلّة العقول ليعرف به صحّة معتقده بل قنع منهم بمجرّد الإسلام. وقال

صنيفة ؟ ومَن جالسنا وأخذنا عنهم يهمّهم غير الفقه والاقتداء بمن تقدّمهم ؟

41 فهؤلاء الأئمّة وهذا قولهم يحثّوننا على اتّباع سلفنا والاقتداء بهم . أفترانا نترك قول الله — سبحانه وتع — وقول رسوله صلّعم ووصيّة أئمّتنا في ترك اتّباع سلفنا ونقبل قول ابن عقيل في قوله : دعوا الاقتداء بهم وقلّدوني واتّبعوا قولي وقول أمثالي من المتكلّمين . ولسان حاله يقول : أنا الكثير الزلّات ، أنا المعروف بالبدع والضلالات ، [76a] أنا الكثير العثار ، أنا الجاهل بالآثار ، أنا المختار علم الكلام المذموم على علم نبيّنا المختار ، فاتّبعوني ودعوا اتّباعه ، فإنّه يدعوكم إلى النجاة وأنا أدعوكم إلى النار .

42 ثمّ لا خلاف بيننا أنّ الإجماع حجّة قاطعة ، فإذا اجتمعت الصحابة رضهم على أمر ثمّ اتّبعهم عليه أئمّة التابعين واقتدى بهم مَن بعدهم من الأئمّة في كلّ عصر وزمان وحثّ

منه ما يشفي ، فما دونهم مقصّر وما فوقهم محسّر ، لقد قصر عنهم قوم فجفوا ، وطمح آخرون عنهم فغلوا ، وإنّهم فيما بين ذلك لعلى هدىً مستقيم .

39 وقال الأوزاعيّ إمام أهل الشام رحمه الله : أصبر نفسك على السنّة ، وقِفْ حيث وقف القوم ، واسلك سبيل سلفك الصالح فإنّه يسعك ما وسعهم ، وقُلْ بما قالوا ، وكُفَّ عمّا كفّوا ، ولو كان هذا خيرًا ما خُصِّصتم به دون أسلافكم ، فإنّه لم يُدّخر عنهم خيرٌ خُبئ لكم دونهم لفضل عندكم ، وهم أصحاب رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم اختارهم الله تعالى وبعثه فيهم ووصفهم فقال: ﴿ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلَّذِينَ مَعَهُ أَشِدَّآءُ عَلَى ٱلْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَآءُ بَيْنَهُمْ ﴾ الآية .

40 وسأل رجلٌ الحسن بن زياد اللؤلؤيّ عن زفر بن الهذيل ، أكان ينظر في الكلام ؟ فقال: سبحان الله ما أحمقك ! ما أدركتَ مشيختَنا زفر وأبا يوسف وأبا

رُجَيل أدرك ذلك الزمان فالسمت الأوّل ، فأنا اليوم على السنّة .

36 وقال حذيفة بن اليمان : يا معشر القرّاء ! خذوا طريق مَن قبلكم ، فوالله لئن استقمتم لقد سبقتم سبقاً بعيداً ، ولئن تركتموه يميناً وشمالاً لقد ضللتم ضلالاً بعيداً .

37 وقال الإمام أحمد رضه : أصول السنّة عندنا التمسّك بما كان عليه أصحاب رسول الله صلعم والاقتداء بهم وترك البدع ، وكلّ بدعة ضلالة .

38 ورُوي عن عمر بن عبد العزيز رضه كلاماً معناه : قف حيث وقف القوم ، فإنّهم عن علم وقفوا وببصر ناقد قد كفّوا ، وإنّهم على كشفها كانوا أقوى وبالفضل لو كان فيها أحرى ، فلئن قلتم حدَثَ بعدهم فما أحدثه إلّا مَن سلك غير سبيلهم ورغب بنفسه عنهم ، ولقد تكلّموا منه بما يكفي ووصفوا

نظر في قلوب العباد فوجد قلب محمّد صلّعم خير قلوب العباد ، فبعثه برسالته. ثمّ نظر في قلوب العباد فوجد قلوب أصحابه خير قلوب العباد بعده ، فاختارهم لصحبة نبيّه ونصرته صلّعم. ولم يزل أئمّتنا يحثّوننا على اتّباع سبيلهم والاهتداء بهديهم.

34 وقال ابن مسعود رضه : من كان منكم متأسّيًا فليتأسّ بأصحاب رسول الله صلّعم ، فإنّهم كانوا أبرّ هذه الأمّة قلوبًا وأعمقها علمًا وأقلّها تكلّفًا وأقربها هديًا وأحسنها حالًا ، قومٌ اختارهم الله لصحبة نبيّه صلّعم وإقامة دينه ، فاعرفوا لهم فضلهم واتّبعوا آثارهم ، فإنّهم كانوا على الهدى المستقيم. ورُوي [75b] عن الحسن البصريّ رحه نحو بعض هذا الكلام أو قريب منه.

35 وقال ابن مسعود رضه : اتّبعوا ولا تبتدعوا فقد كفيتم. وقال رضه : إنّا نقتدي ولا نبتدي ، ونتّبع ولا نبتدع ، ولن نضلّ ما تمسّكنا بالأثر. وقال رضه : أنا لغير الدجّال أخوف عليكم من الدجّال أمورٌ تكون من كبرائكم ، فأيّما مُرّيّة أو

31 قال الله تع : ﴿ وَٱلسَّٰبِقُونَ ٱلْأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ ٱلْمُهَٰجِرِينَ وَٱلْأَنصَارِ وَٱلَّذِينَ ٱتَّبَعُوهُم بِإِحْسَٰنٍ رَّضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ وَرَضُوا عَنْهُ ﴾. وقال — سبحانه وتع : ﴿ مُّحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلَّذِينَ مَعَهُ ﴾ الآية.

32 وقال النبيّ صلعم : خير الناس قرني ثمّ الذين يلونهم . وقال النبيّ صلعم : لا تسبّوا أصحابي ، فإنّ أحدكم لو أنفق مثل أُحُد ذهبًا ما بلغ مُدَّ أحدهم ولا نصيفه . وقال صلعم : إنّ الله اختارني واختار أصحابي فجعل لي منهم أصهارًا وأنصارًا . وقال صلعم : عليكم بسنّتي وسنّة الخلفاء الراشدين المهديّين من بعدي ، عضّوا عليها بالنواجذ . وقال صلعم : اقتدوا بالذين من بعدي أبو بكر وعمر . وقال صلعم : أصحابي كالنجوم بأيّهم اقتديتم اهتديتم. وقال صلعم حين ذكر الفِرَق : إنّها كلّها في النار إلّا واحدة قيل : مَن الواحدة ؟ قال : ما أنا عليه وأصحابي .

33 ويُروى عن ابن مسعود رضه أنّه قال : إنّ الله

الناس على اتّباعهم والاقتداء بهم .

29 ثم لم يزل أئمّتنا وعلماؤنا يحثّوننا على التمسّك بهديهم والسير بسيرتهم ، فجاء هذا المسكين يحذّرنا منهم ويريد منّا أن نسيء الظنّ بهم ونهجر طريقتهم ونصير إلى اتّباع أهل الكلام والاقتداء بهم ، وهذا من أدلّ الأشياء على ضلاله وقبح مقاله ، فإنّه لولا مخالفته لهم وسلوكه غير طريقتهم لما نفّرنا منهم .

30 على أنّه قد قال في آخر هذه المقالة : فالله الله الزموا طريقة السلف الصالح ، فناقض كلامه هذا تسترًا بعد أن فضح نفسه وكشف الستر عنها بذمّه لقولهم وتنفيره من اتّباعهم ودعايته إلى مخالفتهم . ولسنا ممّن يقبل قوله في ذمّ مَن مدحه الله تع ورسوله صلعم والأئمّة ، ولا نهجر طريقة من أُمرنا بسلوكها لقوله .

وهو في هذه الحالة ينصر مذهبهم، فلذلك تكلّمنا عليه، وذكرنا عيوبه، لدخوله في جملتهم ودعايته إلى طريقهم.

فصل

28 وأمّا قوله: فإنّ الأحمق من اغترّ بأسلافه وسكن إلى مقالة أشياخه آناً بتقليدهم من غير بحث عن مقالتهم، فهذا كلام مسموم ردئ يشير به إلى ذمّ اتّباع طريقة السلف الصالح رضيهم، ويعيب ما مدحه أئمّتنا — رحمة الله عليهم — وأوصونا به من لزوم طريقهم والاهتداء بهديهم، ويدعو إلى مقالة أهل الكلام والنظر في المعقولات، وهو علم الكلام الذي ذكرنا عن الأئمّة — رحمة الله عليهم — ذمّه وإفضاءه بصاحبه إلى الزندقة والبدعة وعدم الفلاح. وقد ظهر برهان قولهم في ابن عقيل، فإنّه حين اشتغل به وآثره على علم الأثر صار زنديقاً داعية إلى ترك اتّباع السلف المتّفق على صوابهم المجمع على هدايتهم الذين أخبر الله تع برضاه عنهم واختياره لهم ومدحهم وأثنى عليهم، وحسبك بمن مدحه [75a] الله تع وأثنى عليه وخبر من [وصّى] بهم النبيّ صلعم وحثّ

26 قال الإمام أحمد : لا يفلح صاحب كلام أبداً ، ولا يُرى أحد نظر في الكلام إلّا وفي قلبه دغل . وقال الإمام الشافعيّ: ما ارتدى أحد بالكلام فأفلح. وقال: حكمي في أهل الكلام أن يُضرَبوا بالجريد ويُطافَ بهم في العشائر والقبائل ويُقالَ هذا جزاء من ترك الكتاب والسنّة وأخذ في الكلام. وقال أبو يوسف : من طلب العلم بالكلام تزندق . وقال أبو عمر بن عبد البرّ : أجمع أهل الفقه والآثار من جميع أهل الأمصار أنّ أهل الكلام أهل بدع وزيغ لا يُعَدّون عند الجميع في طبقات العلماء ، وإنّما العلماء أهل الأثر والمتفقّه فيه. وقال أحمد بن إسحاق المالكيّ : أهل الأهواء والبدع عند أصحابنا هم أهل الكلام ، فكلّ متكلّم من أهل الأهواء والبدع ، أشعريًّا كان أو غير أشعريّ ، لا تُقبَل له شهادة ويُهجَر ويُؤدَّب على بدعته ، فإن تمادى عليها استُتيب منها.

27 وذمّ أهل الكلام كثير ، وابن عقيل من أهل الكلام ،

أَوْ إِمَامِ ٱلْحَرَمَيْنِ مَالِكًا [2]

ذَاكَ ٱلْبَحْرُ ٱلَّذِي لَا يُنْتَزَعْ

أَوْ فَقِيهِ ٱلشَّامِ أَوْزَاعِيَّهَا

ذَاكَ لَوْ قَارَعَهُ ٱلْقُرَّا قَرَعْ

أَوْ فَتَى ٱلْإِسْلَامِ أَعْنِي أَحْمَدًا

ذَاكَ حِصْنُ ٱلدِّينِ إِنْ حِصْنٌ مَنَعْ

لَمْ يَخَفْ سَوْطُهُمُ إِذْ خَوَّفُوا

لَا وَلَا سَيْفُهُمُ حِينَ لَمَعْ

25 | أمّا هو هزبه من أهل الكلام، فما ذكرهم إلّا ذمّهم والتحذير [46
منهم والتنفير من مجالستهم والأمر بمباينتهم وهجرانهم وترك
النظر في كتبهم، لا يثبت لأحد منهم قدم في الولاية، ولا
يقوم لهم في الصالحين راية، ولا يكون لأحد منهم كرامة، ولا
يرون ربّهم في الآخرة ولا كرامه، يكذّبون بكرامات الصالحين،
وينكرون نعمة الله على عباده المؤمنين، فهم في الدنيا ممقوتون
وفي الآخرة معذّبون، لا يفلح منهم أحد، ولا يوفّق لاتّباع رشد.

والآخرة ، ومن نظر في كتب العلماء التي أُفردت لذكر الأولياء لم يجد فيها إلّا منّا ، ومتى نُقلت الكرامات لم تُنقل إلّا عنّا ، ومتى أراد واعظ أو غيره يطيّب مجلسه ويزيّنه زيّنه بأخبار بعض زهّادنا أو كرامات عبّادنا أو وصفِ علمائنا ، وعند ذكر صالحينا تنزل الرحمة وتطيب القلوب ويُستجاب الدعاء ويُكشف البلاء ، ولله درُّ القائل : [الرمل]

ذَهَبَتْ دَوْلَةُ أَصْحَابِ ٱلْبِدَعْ
وَوَهَى حَبْلُهُمُ ثُمَّ ٱنْقَطَعْ
وَتَدَاعَى بِٱنْصِدَاعٍ شَمْلِهِمْ
حِزْبُ إِبْلِيسَ ٱلَّذِي كَانَ جَمَعْ
هَلْ لَكُمْ بِٱللهِ فِي بِدْعَتِكُمْ
مِنْ فَقِيهٍ أَوْ إِمَامٍ يُتَّبَعْ
مِثْلِ سُفْيَانَ أَخِي ٱلثَّوْرِي ٱلَّذِي
عَلَّمَ ٱلنَّاسَ خَفِيَّاتِ ٱلْوَرَعْ
أَوْ سُلَيْمَانَ أَخِي ٱلتَّيْمِ ٱلَّذِي
هَجَرَ ٱلنَّوْمَ لِهَوْلِ ٱلْمُطَّلَعْ

فنسب حاله إلى مَن سواه ، وجعل الحدث منه حادثًا ممّن عداه ، وكسى وصفه لغيره ، وعيّر أهل السنّة بمثل ذنبه كما قيل :

رمتني بدائها وانسلّت .

23 أمّا أهل السنّة المتّبعين للآثار السالكين طريق السلف الأخيار فما عليهم غضاضة ولا يلحقهم عار ، منهم العلماء العاملون ومنهم الأولياء والصالحون ومنهم الأتقياء الأبرار والأصفياء والأخيار أهل الولايات والكرامات وأهل العبادات والاجتهادات ، بذكرهم تُزيَّن الكتب والدفاتر ، وأخبارهم تحسّن المحافل والمحاضر ، تحيا القلوب بذكر أخبارهم ، وتحصل السعادة باقتفاء آثارهم ، بهم قام الدين وبه قاموا ، وبهم نطق الكتاب وبه نطقوا ، وهم مفزع الخلق عند اشتداد الأمور عليهم ، فالملوك فمَن دونهم يقصدون زياراتهم ويتبرّكون بدعائهم ويستشفعون إلى الله — سبحانه وتعالى — بهم .

24 فنحن أصحاب المقامات الفاخرة ، ولنا شرف الدنيا

أدركنا الأعمش وسفيان يحدّثون بهذه الأحاديث ولم ينكرونها. وهذا ممّا لا نعلم فيه بين سلفنا رحمهم اختلافًا ، والمنكر له إمّا جاهل أو متجاهل قليل الدين والحياء لا يخاف من الله تبع إذا كذب ولا يستحيي من الناس إذا كذب .

21 ونحن على طريقة سلفنا وجادّة أئمّتنا وسنّة نبيّنا صلّى ، ما أحدثنا قولًا ولا زدنا زيادة ، بل آمنّا بما جاء ، وأمررناه كما جاء ، وقلنا بما قالوا ، وسكتنا عمّا سكتوا عنه ، وسلكنا حيث سلكوا ، فما وجه لنسبة الخذف والبدعة إلينا .

22 وإنّما تكلّم ابن عقيل على حال نفسه في حال بدعته . [74a]
حين أحدث في دين الله — عزّ وجلّ — وخالف سلفه وأئمّته وسادة أهل مذهبه واتّبع أهل الكلام والبدع وفارق السنّة وأخذ في البدعة أُهدر دمه وأُخيف سربه وقُصد بالأذى والتشريد والإخافة والتطريد وصار ذليلًا حقيرًا ،

رضه عن هذه الأحاديث التي تروي أنّ الله — تبارك وتع — يُرى ، وأنّه ينزل إلى سماء الدنيا ، وأنّه يضع قدمه ، وما أشبه ذلك . فقال أبو عبدالله رضه : نؤمن بها ونصدّق بها ولا نردّ منها شيئاً إذا كانت بأسانيد صحاح . ولا نردّ على الرسول صلعم قوله . ونعلم أنّ ما جاء به الرسول صلعم حقّ . ولا يُوصَف الله تع بأكثر ممّا وصف به نفسه بلا حدّ ولا غاية : ﴿لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ﴾ . فنقول كما قال ، ونصفه كما وصف نفسه ، لا نتعدّى ذلك ، ولا نزيل عنه صفة من صفاته لشناعة شنعت . نؤمن بهذه الأحاديث ونقرّها ونمرّها كما جاءت بلا كيف ولا معنىً إلّا على ما وصف به نفسه — تبارك وتع — وهو ، كما وصف نفسه ، سميع بصير بلا حدّ ولا تقدير . صفاته منه وله . لا نتعدّى القرآن والحديث والخبر ، ولا نعلم كيف ذاك إلّا بتصديق الرسول صلعم وتثبيت القرآن .

20 وقال أبو عبدالله : حدّثنا وكيع يوماً بحديث من هذه الأحاديث ، فاقشعرّ زكريّاء بن عدي . فقال وكيع — وغضب :

بذلك جاءت الأخبار عنهم مجملة ومفصّلة . فرُوي عن مالك ابن أنس والأوزاعيّ | وسفيان الثوريّ وسفيان بن عيينة ومعمر [73b] ابن راشد في الأحاديث في الصفات أمرّوها كما جاءت . وقال أبو عمر بن عبد البرّ في كتاب العلم : ما جاء عن النبيّ صلّعم من نقل الثقات [1] وصحّ عن الصحابة رضّهم فهو علم يُدان به . وما أُحدث بعدهم ولم يكن له أصل في ما جاء عنهم فهو بدعة وضلالة. وما جاء في أسماء الله وصفاته عنهم نسلّم له ولم نناظر كما لم يناظروا. [2] وردّوها السلف وسكتوا عنها ، وكانوا أعمق الناس علمًا وأوسعهم فهمًا وأقلّهم تكلّفًا ، ولم يكن سكوتهم عن عيّ . فمن لم يسعه ما وسعهم فقد خاب وخسر. [3]

18 وروى محمّد بن الحسن صاحب أبي حنيفة أنّه أجمع أهل العلم في المشرق والمغرب على أنّ هذه الأحاديث التي جاءت في الصفات لا تُفسَّر — أو كما قال .

19 وقال حنبليّ : سألت أبا عبدالله أحمد بن محمّد بن حنبل

فإن قال: تركتم تأويل الآيات والأخبار الواردة في الصفات وادّعى أنّ السلف تأوّلوها وفسّروها فقد أفك وافترى وجاء بالطامة الكبرى. فإنّه لا خلاف في أنّ مذهب السلف الإقرار والتسليم وترك التعرّض للتأويل والتمثيل. ثمّ إنّ الأصل عدم تأويلهم، فمن ادّعى أنّهم تأوّلوها فليأتِ ببرهان على قوله. وهذا لا سبيل إلى معرفته إلّا بالنقل والرواية. فلينقل لنا ذلك عن رسول الله صلّعم أو عن صحابته أو عن أحد من التابعين أو الأئمّة المرضيّين. ثمّ المدّعي لذلك من أهل الكلام، وهم أجهل الناس بالآثار وأقلّهم علماً بالأخبار وأتركهم للنقل. فمن أين لهم علم بهذه؟ ومَن نقل منهم شيئاً لم يُقبَل نقله ولا يُلتفت إليه. وإنّما لهم الوضع والكذب وزور الكلام.

17 ولا خلاف بين أهل النقل سنّيّهم وبدعيّهم في أنّ مذهب السلف رضيهم في صفات الله — سبحانه وتع — الإقرار بها والإمرار لها والتسليم لقائلها وترك التعرّض لتفسيرها

14 وعلى كلّ حال فهو قد نفّر من التقليد وأنكر حسن الظنّ بالمشايخ . فكيف يحسن الظنّ فيمن ينكر حسن الظنّ به؟ وكيف يُقبَل قول من ينهي عن قبول قول غيره وينبغي لنا أن نقبل قوله في نفسه ؟ فيُساء الظنّ به ، ولا نقبل قوله في غيره ، كمن أقرّ بشيء عليه وعلى غيره قُبل قوله عليه ولم يُقبَل على غيره .

15 وها أنا أجيب عن مقالته — إن شاء الله تع — فصلاً فصلاً وأبيّن عوار كلامه فرعاً وأصلاً — بتوفيق الله ومعونته .

16 أمّا قوله : إنّا كنّا أعزّاء بين أهل المذاهب فرها نحن اليوم مبعون منفيّون محصورون — إلى آخر كلامه . فهذا إيماء منه إلى أنّ أسلافنا — رحمهم الله تع — كانوا على قول ونحن على غيره ، وأنّنا أحدثنا مقالة غير مقالتهم استحققنا بها العقوبة . وهذا كذب وفرية وقول من لا حياء له ولا دين. فليخبرنا أيّ شيء أحدثناه وأيّ مقالة خالفنا فيها أسلافنا.

متأوّلها جزءاً مفرداً ، وصنّف في الحرف والصوت جزءاً مفرداً ، وصنّف كتاب الانتصار للسنّة وغيرها من الكتب ، وملأها من السنّة والردّ على المبتدعة . فإن كان يظهر ذلك ويبطن هذا ويعتقده فهو زنديق فكيف يجوز أن يحتجّ محتجّ بمقالته أو يرضى لنفسه بمثل حاله أو يضلّ بضلالته ؟ ونعوذ بالله تع ولا يُظنّ به هذا ! ولكن لمّا عُلمت منه حالتان حالة بدعة وحالة توبة نسبنا كلّ ما وُجد من كلامه من البدع إلى حالة البدعة | لا غير . [73a]

13 وما عادتي ذكر معائب أصحابنا ، وإنّي لأحبّ ستر عوراتهم ، ولكن وجب بيان حال هذا الرجل حين اغترّ بمقالته قوم واقتدى ببدعته طائفة من أصحابنا وشكّكهم في اعتقادهم حسن ظنّهم فيه واعتقادهم أنّه من جملة دعاة السنّة . فوجب حينئذٍ كشف حاله وإزالة حسن ظنّهم فيه ليزول عنهم اغترارهم بقوله ويحسم الداء بحسم سببه . فإنّ الشيء يزول من حيث ثبت . — وبالله التوفيق والمعونة ، ونسأل الله تع أن يثبتنا على الإسلام والسنّة .

10 . وكتب محمّد بن عبد الباقي بن محمّد بن عبد الله : وحضر في هذا اليوم في مسجد الشريف خلق كثير .

11 فهذه الفضيحة من جملة ما تاب منه إلى الله تع وأقرّ بأنّه ضلال وبدعة، وأنّه متى وُجد بخطّه وجبت مقابلته عليه، وينتقم الله منه . فكيف يحتجّ بقوله هذا محتجّ أو يغترّ به مغترّ أو يقول به قائل أو يتعلّق به متعلّق مع شهادة قائله عليه بالضلال وإجماع العلماء من أهل بلدته على استتابته منه وإهدار دمه به وبأمثاله ؟ وهذا أدلّ شيء على خطائه وضلاله . وإن كانت هذه المقالة صدرت منه بعد توبته فهذا دليل على زندقته وإصراره على بدعته ورجوعه الى ضلالته . فإنّ معنى الزندقة إظهار الحقّ واعتقاد خلافه، وهو النفاق الذي كان على عهد رسول الله صلعم ويُسمّى اليوم الزندقة .

12 وهذا الرجل قد صنّف في نفي تأويل الصفات والردّ على

على ذلك بما يوجبه الشرع من ردع ونكال وإبعاد وغير ذلك.
وأشهدت الله تع وملائكته وأولي العلم على جميع ذلك غير مجبر
ولا مكره، وباطني وظاهري في ذلك سواء. قال الله تع:
﴿ وَمَنْ عَادَ فَيَنْتَقِمُ ٱللَّهُ مِنْهُ وَٱللَّهُ عَزِيزٌ ذُو ٱنْتِقَامٍ ﴾.

٩ ثم كتب الشهود خطوطهم، وهذه نسختها:

أشهدني المقرّ على إقراره بجميع ما تضمّنه هذا الكتاب —
وكتب عبدالله بن رضوان في المحرّم سنة خمس وستّين وأربعمائة،
بمثل ذلك أشهدني — وكتب محمّد بن عبد الرزّاق بن أحمد
ابن السنّيّ في التاريخ،
أشهدني المقرّ على إقراره بجميع ما تضمّنه هذا الكتاب —
وكتب الحسن بن عبد الملك بن محمّد بن يوسف بخطّه،
سمعت إقرار المقرّ بذلك — وكتب محمّد بن أحمد بن الحسن،
أشهدني المقرّ على نفسه بذلك — وكتب عليّ بن عبد
الملك بن محمّد بن يوسف، آخرها.

8 يقول عليّ بن عقيل : إنّني أبرأ إلى الله تع من مذاهب المبتدعة : الاعتزال وغيره ، ومن صحبة أربابه وتعظيم أصحابه والترحّم على أسلافهم والتكثّر بأخلاقهم ، وما كنت علّقته ووُجد بخطّي من مذاهبهم وضلالاتهم فأنا تائب إلى الله — سبحانه وتع — من كتابته وقراءته وإنّه لا يحلّ لي كتابته ولا قراءته ولا اعتقاده.

وذكر شيئاً آخر ثمّ قال : فإنّي استغفر الله وأتوب إليه من مخالطة المبتدعة : المعتزلة وغيرهم ، ومكاثرتهم والترحّم عليهم والتعظيم لهم ، فإنّ ذلك كلّه حرام لا يحلّ لمسلم فعله لقول النبيّ صلعم : من عظّم صاحب بدعة فقد أعان على هدم الإسلام. وقد كان سيّدنا الشريف أبو جعفر — أدام الله علوّه وحرس على كافّتنا ظلّه — ومن معه من الشيوخ والأتباع سادتي وإخواني — أحسن الله عن الدين والمروّة جزاءهم ، مصيبين في الإنكار عليّ لما شاهدوه بخطّي في الكتب التي أبرأ [72b] إلى الله تع منها ، واتّفق أنّني كنت مخطئاً غير مصيب . ومتى حُفظ عليّ ما ينافي هذا الخطّ وهذا الإقرار فلإمام المسلمين — أعزّ الله سلطانه — مكافاتي

إلى الله تع بقتله وإراقة دمه . فنزع وخرج من السفينة وجاء الى الشريف أبي جعفر فتاب واستغفر .

٦ وها أنا أذكر توبته وصفتها بالإسناد ليُعلَم أنّ ما وُجد من تصانيفه مخالفاً للسنّة فهو ممّا تاب منه ، فلا يغترّ به مغترّ ، ولا يأخذ به أحد فيضلّ ، ويكون الآخذ به كحاله قبل توبته في زندقته ، وحلّ دمه .

7 أخبرنا الشيخ الإمام الثقة المسند أبو حفص عمر بن محمّد ابن طبرزد البغداديّ بقراءتي عليه في ذي القعدة سنة ثلاث وستّمائة بمسجدنا المحروس بظاهر دمشق — حرسها الله تع — قلت له : أخبركم القاضي الأجلّ العالم أبو بكر محمّد بن عبد الباقي ابن محمّد البزّاز إجازةً إن لم يكن سماعاً قال : حضرتُ يوم الاثنين الثامن من المحرّم سنة خمس وستّين وأربعمائة توبةَ الشيخ الإمام أبي الوفاء بن عقيل في مسجد الشريف أبي جعفر — رحمه الله — في نهر مُعَلَّى ، وحضر في ذلك اليوم خلق كثير . قال :

في ترجيح السنّة مبالغة لم يبالغ بها معتزليّ ولا غيره.

4 وكان أصحابنا يعيّرونه بالزندقة. فقال الشيخ أبو الخطّاب محفوظ بن أحمد الكَلْوَذانيّ رحمه تع في قصيدته يقول فيها: [الطويل]

[72a] وَمُذْ كُنْتُ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ أَحْمَدَ لَمْ أَزَلْ
أُنَاضِلُ عَنْ أَعْرَاضِهِمْ وَأُحَامِي
وَمَا صَدَّنِي عَنْ نُصْرَةِ الْحَقِّ مَطْمَعٌ
وَلَا كُنْتُ زِنْدِيقًا خَلِيفَ خِصَامِ

يعرّض بابن عقيل حيث نُسب إلى ذلك.

5 وبلغني أنّ سبب توبته أنّه لمّا ظهرت منه هذه الفضيحة أهدر الشريف أبو جعفر رحمه تع دمه، وأفتى هو وأصحابه بإباحة قتله. وكان ابن عقيل يخفي مخافةَ القتل. فبينما هو يومًا راكب في سفينة فإذا في السفينة شابّ يقول: تمنّيت لو لقيت هذا الزنديق ابن عقيل حتّى أتقرّب

وألحقناه بالمبتدعة المارقة . ولكنّه لمّا تاب وأناب وجب أن تُحمَل منه هذه البدعة والضلالة على أنّها كانت قبل توبته في حال بدعته وزندقته . ثمّ قد عاد بعد توبته إلى نصّ السنّة والردّ على من قال بمقالته الأولى بأحسن كلام وأبلغ نظام . وأجاب على الشُّبَه التي ذُكرت بأحسن جواب ، وكلامه في ذلك كثير في كتب كبار وصغار وأجزاء مفردة ، وعندنا من ذلك كثير . فلعلّ إحسانه يمحو إساءته وتوبته تمحو بدعته ، فإنّ الله تعالى يقبل التوبة عن عباده ويعفو عن السيّئات .

٣ ولقد كنت أعجب من الأئمّة من أصحابنا الذين كفّروه وأهدروا دمه وأفتوا بإباحة قتله وحكموا بزندقته قبل توبته ، ولم أدرِ أيّ شيء أوجب هذا في حقّه وما الذي اقتضى أن يبالغوا فيه هذه المبالغة حتّى وقفت على هذه النصيحة . فعلمت أنّ برهاً وبأمثالها استباحوا دمه . وقد عثرت له على زلّات قبيحة ، ولكن لم أجد عنه مثل هذه التي بالغ فيها

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

1 الحمد لله حمداً موافياً لنعمه مكافئاً لمزيده، وأشهد أن لا إله إلّا الله وحده لا شريك له شهادةَ مخلصٍ في توحيده، وأشهد أنّ محمّداً صفوته من عبده ورسوله خاتم أنبيائه وخير عباده، صلّى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحابته وسائر المتمسّكين بسنّته المحتذين لطريقه.

2 أمّا بعد، فإنّني وقفت على نصيحة ابن عقيل التي سمّاها نصيحة، وتأمّلت ما اشتملت عليه من البدع القبيحة والشناعة على سالكي الطريق الواضحة الصحيحة، فوجدتها فضيحة لقائلها قد هتك الله تعالى بها ستره، وأبدى بها عورته، ولولا أنّه قد تاب إلى الله — عزّ وجلّ — منها وتنصّل ورجع عنها واستغفر الله تعالى من جميع ما تكلّم به من البدع أو كتبه بخطّه أو صنّفه أو نُسب إليه لعددناه في جملة الزنادقة

تحريم النظر في كتب أهل الكلام

كتاب فيه الرد على ابن عقيل

تأليف

موفق الدين بن قدامة المقدسي

المتوفى بدمشق سنة ٦٢٠ هـ

عني بتصحيحه ونشره والتعليق عليه

جورج المقدسي